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The Bombay Chronicle

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FOUNDED BY SIR PHEROZESHAH M. MEHTA IN 1918.

VOL. XI NO. 304 BOMBAY THURSDAY, DECEMBER 27, 1923. TWO ANNAS.

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The Bombay Chronicle

Business Notice.

ALL COMMUNICATIONS intended for publication in the "Bombay Chronicle" must be accompanied by the name and address of the writer not necessarily for publication, but as a guarantee of good faith. In preparing manuscripts correspondents are requested to write on one side of the paper only, and to address their communications to the EDITOR, and not to any member of the staff by name. Attention to this rule will save much inconvenience and delay.

In the absence of express agreement to the contrary the copyright of all leaders or other contributions published in the "Bombay Chronicle" vests in the proprietors of the journal.

The Editor cannot undertake to return rejected communications unless a stamped and addressed envelope is enclosed for the purpose.

BUSINESS communications of every kind (advertisements, changes of address, etc.) should be addressed to the MANAGER. Advertisements intended for insertion in the next day's paper must reach the Office not later than 5 p.m.

ALL REMITTANCES should be made payable to the "Bombay Chronicle" and cheques crossed.

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Daily Edition.

	Local.	Mofussil
Yearly	Rs. 30	Rs. 35
Half-Yearly ..	,, 16	,, 18
Quarterly	,, 8	,, 9
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Single Copy Two Annas.

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DIAMOND JUBILEE WASHING CO.
BRANCH AT SHAIK MEMON STREET
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P. & O.
AND
BRITISH INDIA
(Companies Incorporated in England.)
MAIL & PASSENGER SERVICE.
P. and O. SAILINGS TO PLYMOUTH AND LONDON CALLING AT MARSEILLES.
All passengers are required to be in possession of passports.

Date.	Steamer.	Connecting at Aden with	Tons.
26th Dec.	DONGOLA ..	MONGOLIA *	16,385
8th Jan.	MANTUA ‡ ..		10,902
12th ,,	KAISAR-I-HIND x ..		11,430
19th ,,	PLASSY ..		7,393
26th ,,	DONGOLA ..	NARKUNDA *	16,227
2nd Feb.	DELTA ..		8,097
9th ,,	MACEDONIA x ..		11,089
16th ,,	MALWA ‡ ..		10,041
23rd ,,	DONGOLA ..	MOLDAVIA *	16,277
1st March.	MANTUA ..		10,902
8th ,,	MOREA x ..		10,911
15th ,,	CALEDONIA ..		7,622
22nd ,,	DONGOLA ‡ ..	MOOLTAN ‡	20,700
29th ,,	KAISAR-I-HIND ..		11,430
5th April	NALDERA x ..		15,993
9th ,,	DEVANHA ..	Extra Steamer	8,092
12th ,,	MALWA ..		10,041
19th ,,	DONGOLA ..	MALOJA *	20,700
26th ,,	MACEDONIA ..		11,089
3rd May	DELTA ..	CHINA x ..	7,952
10th ,,	MANTUA ..		10,902
17th ,,	DONGOLA ..	MONGOLIA *	16,385
24th ,,	CALEDONIA ..		7,622
31st ,,	DELTA ..	NARKUNDA *	16,227

* Through steamers from Australia, have limited accommodation for passengers from India.
‡ Terminates voyage at Marseilles.
‡ Does not convey passengers from India.
x Through steamers from China, have limited accommodation for passengers from India.

BRITISH INDIA SAILINGS.
Bombay to Port Said and Plymouth.

Date about ..	Steamer.	Tons.
28th Dec. ..	MATIANA ..	8,965
11th Jan. ..	DOMALA ..	8,441
25th ,, ..	MASHOBRA ..	8,324
8th Feb. ..	DALGOMA * ..	5,800
22nd ,, ..	MORVADA ..	8,198
7th March ..	MANDALA ..	8,346
21st ,, ..	DUMANA ..	8,869
4th April ..	MANELA ..	8,209
18th ,, ..	MATIANA ..	8,965
2nd May ..	DOMALA ..	8,441
16th ,, ..	MASHOBRA ..	8,324

* Cargo vessel only, will not convey passengers.

P. & O. SAILINGS, BOMBAY TO JAPAN VIA COLOMBO, SINGAPORE, HONGKONG, AND SHANGHAI.

28th Dec.	MOREA ..	10,911
18th Jan.	SOUDAN* ..	6,696
25th ,,	NCALDERA ..	15,993
22nd Feb.	CHINA ..	7,952
18th March	SOUDAN* ..	6,696
24th April	SICILIA* ..	6,813

* Proceed as far as Shanghai only.

BRITISH INDIA SAILINGS
TO AFRICA KARACHI, PERSIAN GULF, TUTICORIN, COLOMBO, MADRAS, CALCUTTA, AND RANGOON.

Date about	Steamers.	Destination.
28th Dec.	Varsova ..	Buarch via K'chi
29th ,,	Colaba ..	Colombo Madras & Calcutta.
29th ,,	Chakla ..	Karachi via K'war
30th ,,	Gairsoppa ..	Tuticorin, Colombo, and Rangoon.
30th ,,	Vita ..	Karachi via K'war
3rd Jan.	Bamora ..	Busreh via K'chi & P. Gulf Ports
9th ,,	Karagola ..	East & S. Africa

Terms and Rates of freight and passage may be arranged with
MACKINNON MACKENZIE and Co.,
Nicol Road, Fort, Bombay
P.O. Box 122.

NOTICE.

CANADIAN GOVERNMENT MERCHANTS MARINE LIMITED AND B. I. S. N. CO'S JOINT SERVICE.
CALCUTTA TO HALIFAX DIRECT TAKING CARGO FOR TRANSHIPMENT.
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MACKINNON MACKENZIE & CO.
Road, CALCUTTA,
P. P. O. Box 163.

SHIPPING.

N. Y. K. LINE
REGULAR SERVICE to JAPAN via SINGAPORE, HONGKONG, and SHANGHAI.

Steamer.	Commander.	Tons	Arrival	Departure.
Wakasa Maru	K. Horikawa	..	26 Dec.	1 Jan.
Baron Cawdor	T. Baillie	5864	26 Dec.	30th Dec
Lima Maru	J. Koshikawa	7220	28 Dec.	17 Jan.
Penang Maru	H. Habazi	5916	8 Jan	17 Jan.
Yomei Maru	....	7151	11th Jan	23rd Jan.
Tamba Maru	K. Wada.	5845	24th Jan	28th Jan.

REVISED PASSAGE FARES

For:—	1st Class	2nd Class	European Steerage	3rd Class with food	3rd Class without food
Singapore	Rs. 330	Rs. 210	Rs. 150	Rs. 105	Rs. 84
Hongkong	480	270	203	135	108
Shanghai	540	1320	240	160	128
Kobe	610	380	235	190	152

For revised passage tariff apply to:—
NIPPON YUSEN KAISHA,
Alfie Building, Hornby Road, Fort, Bombay,
Telephone No. 279. Telegrams "YUSEN"

O.S.K. LINE.
(OSAKA SHOSEN KAISHA)
REGULAR SERVICES TO JAPAN via SINGAPORE AND HONGKONG.

Steamer	Commander	Tons	Arrival	Departure.
Celebes Maru	T. Nishimura	5863	26th Nov.	10th Dec.
Aden Maru	Y. Miyabara	7772	14th Dec.	28th ,,
Argun Maru	N. Ohno	6609	25th ,,	8th Jan.
Ryujin Maru	M. Naito	6152	29th ,,	12th ,,
Burma Maru	H. Meguro	4584	9th Jan.	23rd. ,,

For particulars apply to—
T. OHARA,
Manager,
P. O. Box No. 355,
Phone No. 2150,
Ballard Road, Bombay.

BANKING.

HONGKONG & SHANGHAI BANKING CORPORATION
(Incorporated in Hongkong.)

AUTHORISED CAPITAL	$50,000,000
ISSUED AND FULLY PAID-UP	$20,000,000
RESERVE FUND STERLING	£ 4,500,000
SILVER	$24,500,000
RESERVE LIABILITY OF PROPRIETORS	$20,000,000

HEAD OFFICE: HONGKONG.
LONDON OFFICE:
9, Gracechurch Street, E. C.
BOMBAY OFFICE:
40, Churchgate Street.
OTHER BRANCHES.

Amoy	Hongkong	Rangoon
Bangkok	Ipon	Sangon
Batavia	Johore	San Francisco
Calcutta	Kobe	Shanghai
Canton	Kuala Lumpur	Singapore
Chefoo	Lyons	Sourabaya
Colombo	Malacca	Sungei Patani
Dairen	Manila	Tientsin
Foochow	Nagasaki	Tsingtau
Haiphong	New York	Vladivostock
Hamburg	Peking	Yloilo
Harbin	Penang	Yokohama
Hankow		

CURRENT ACCOUNTS opened and interest allowed half-yearly on daily balance of Rs. 1,000 to Rs. 1,00,000 at 2 per cent per annum provided the sum accrued amounts to Rs 5.
FIXED DEPOSITS received for varying periods on terms which may be learnt on application.
DRAFTS GRANTED and BILLS PURCHASED on the principal commercial centres of the world.
GENERAL BANKING and EXCHANGE business unedrtaken.
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Agent.

WAIKAR & CO., LTD.,
BANKERS.
HEAD OFFICE. HUBLI.
CURRENT and SAVINGS BANK DEPOSITS ACCOUNTS opened and interest allowed at 3 per cent and 5 per cent respectively per annum.
FIXED DEPOSITS received for long or short periods on most favourable terms.
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For rules and particulars apply to the MANAGING DIRECTOR.

BANKING.

IMPERIAL BANK OF INDIA
BOMBAY LOCAL HEAD OFFICE:
Bank Street.
BRANCHES:
Byculla.—Opposite Parsee Statue.
Mandvi.—Abdul Rehman Street.
Sandhurst Road.—Junction of Sandhurst and Charni Roads.
SAVINGS BANK.
DEPOSITS.—Sums not exceeding Rs. 5,000 in the aggregate may be deposited in any one year from 1st January to 31st December. Accounts may be opened in the names of two or more persons and the balance made payable to one or more of them, or to the survivors.
WITHDRAWALS may be made at any time, three times in a week. Deposits may be made by post by
INTEREST at [illegible] per cent. per annum, on [illegible] daily balances not exceeding Rs. 10,000 in ordinary Savings Bank accounts and at the rate of four-and-a-half per cent per annum on the daily balances on the special Savings Bank Deposit accounts.
Copies of the Rules can be obtained on application at the Bank.
R. A. DON,
Secretary and Treasurer.

THE BOMBAY WIDOWS' PENSION FUND, LTD.
ESTABLISH 1876.
NO. 35, MEDOWS STREET.
Behind Currency Bank.
Funded Capital Rs. 2,56,100.
Investments in Government and Approved Securities only.
Perfect Economy in management. The supervision as to Rates, Mortality, Investigation and Valuation, is entrusted to an experienced European Actuary.
The object is to make provisions for the widows of subscribers to a monthly pension from Rs. 5 to Rs. 50 without distinction of caste or creed. Rates of subscription are very moderate 30 per cent. surrender value in case the wife pre-deceased. Twelve months grace if occupation is lost.
Commission to Canvassers.
Full details apply for a copy of Rules to—
GANANAN SADANAND DESAI,
Secretary and Treasurer.

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(M.A., M.D., B.L.)
RENOWNED PATENT.
IC-MIC COOKER
For free Catalogues apply Manager,
29, College Street, CALCUTTA.

CONSUMPTION.
8 YEARS' SUCCESS.
Major writes:—
"I have the greatest faith in the cure as I am convinced that it does all that Mr. Walters claims for it."
REV. G. R. WALTERS
LONAVLA
visits ORIENT HOTEL, BOMBAY, Every FRIDAY and SATURDAY.

INCOME-TAX & SUPER-TAX
Statutory Statement of Account prepared. Audit of Books of Firms UNDERTAKEN.
B. L. THOSAR,
Public Accountant.
BOMBAY COMMERCIAL COLLEGE.
Kalbadevi Road, BOMBAY.

TO BACTERIOLOGISTS AND SURGEONS.
WE SUPPLY
DOUBLE DISTILLED WATER & SALINE SOLUTION
for Intravenous or Rectal Injection in 1 lb Sterile bottles Re. 1, and in Sterilised Ampoules 15 c. c. for 3 As. each.
Apply.
S. N. GUNDI
SANDHURST ROAD, WEST, BOMBAY, No. 4.

ARE YOU CONSIDERING THE PURCHASE OF A NEW CAR?
If so the following points are worth consideration:—
1. Is service available AFTER purchase?
2. Can your car investment be readily re-converted into cash at any time in case of necessity?
3. Has the car a good second-hand value?
4. In case of an accident or breakdown, can the car be put into running order again satisfactorily and expeditiously?
When you have satisfied yourself on these points, may we have the privilege of sending you full particulars of all Ford Models with latest prices?
FORD 5-SEATER TOURING CAR Rs. 2,450/-.
AUTOMOBILES (India) Ltd.
ROAD, BOMBAY.

Prof. T. K. Gajjar's "Ionic" Remedies
based on Rational Treatment of Fever, Plague, Cholera, etc.

Fever Drops. (Jwar—Bindu) cheapest and best	1/- and -/8
Ague Mixture for Malaria & Ague, Dengue, &c.	1/4
Influenza Preventive and Curative. (Well-known)	1
Palague—Cholera Solutions 80 p. c. cure	0/10
Germicide Universal Preventive and water sterelizer	0/10
Liver Solution. Best antiseptic, purgative and laxative	1/4

Tooth powder, Ringworm Ointment, Cough pills, Tonic Solution etc.
"Standard" Eau-de-Cologne, Lavender, Pain Balm, Embrocation, etc.
Ask for particulars and catalogue from M. J GAJJAR M. A., P. C. S.
THE IONIC PHARMACY
No 1 A, Khetwadi Main Road.

THE INDIA PROVIDENT CO. LTD.
ESTABLISHED:—1910.
Dividend declared 1921 .. .. 20%
Dividend declared 1922 .. .. 30%
Dividend declared previous years—15—20%
The Safest office for Life Insurance for the poor. Premium Re. 1/ or /8/ per month. Active and honest agents required on liberal remuneration. Apply at once to the SECRETARY, 19 Grey Street, CALCUTTA.

THE ARYA PATHIKA ASHRAM
LODGING AND BOARDING
HINDOOS AND STUDENTS
Chaubal's Building Girgaum Back Road, BOMBAY.

J. V. Navlakhi & Co.
KANTA BUILDING,
KALBADEVI ROAD, BOMBAY
Stationery, Drawing and Painting Materials.
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RUBBER STAMP MAKERS.
Price List on Application.

TUSSORE SUIT
(in any shade) Rs. 22/8.
3 for Rs. 60 only
Made to Order
by
J. DIAS & BROS.
PROFESSIONAL TAILORS and GENTS' COMPLETE OUTFITTERS
172, Princess Street, BOMBAY.

When you spend so much for YOUR CLOTHES why not be certain that they are made by artistic Tailors?
ARAUJO FERNANDES & CO.
MERCHANT TAILORS,
Princess Street, BOMBAY.

CLASSIFIED ADVTS.

Readers' Private Short Advertisements are inserted in these columns at the following rates:—

FIRST 28 WORDS—ONE RUPEE.

Every additional word—One Anna.

CASH MUST ACCOMPANY ORDER.

The full name and address of the advertiser is required, not necessarily for publication.

Advertisers who do not wish their names and addresses published will be given a Box number. The words "apply Box No. ..... Advertisement Department, "Bombay Chronicle" to be paid for.

Replies to advertisements cannot be forwarded, but can be obtained at the office on production of the voucher.

Answers to advertisements should be addressed as follows:—Box Number ....., Advertisement Department, "Bombay Chronicle" Office, Bombay.

Unclaimed replies to advertisements are destroyed after one month.

SITUATIONS VACANT.

WANTED—An ENGINEER to erect and start Tangyes second-hand Crude Oil Engine in Khandesh immediately. Apply BABAN GOKHALAY, Opera House, Tram Terminus, Girgaum.
A

WANTED—A SHORT-HAND TYPIST with good speed. Apply Messrs. LALA & CO., Solicitors, Ismail Bldg., Above Eastern Bank.
A

WANTED—Well experienced ENGINEERS Electric and Mechanical for a Native State, salary according to qualifications. Apply sharp to THE MANAGER, ORIENTAL SERVICE BUREAU, DELHI.
A R9312

WANTED—EXPERIENCED and INFLUENTIAL AGENTS and CANVASSERS for our FIRECLAY GOODS on pay, commission or both. Apply to THE UPPER INDIA TRADING CO., The Mall, Cawnpore.
A R9317

WANTED—CHIEF AGENTS, AGENT and CANVASSERS for an Insurance Company, on pay, commission or both according to guarantee of business. Apply to SECRETARIES, ALL INDIA UNITED INSURANCE CO. LTD., 72, Apollo Street, Fort, Bombay.
A 18237

WANTED for the Bombay Municipal School Service, a TEACHER of Hindi for the present temporarily. Salary according to qualifications. Apply within a week to R.B.D.G. PADHYE, Secretary Schools Committee, Bombay Municipality, Bombay.
A 18487

WANTED—A LADY SUPERINTENDENT for the Girls' School of the Jaipur State.—salary Rs. 100 per mensem plus an allowance of Rs. 25. The applicant must have a very thorough knowledge of Hindi and Arithmetic—and a fair knowledge of English and of Sanskrit also if possible. She must be expert in needle work and in cooking—and must be a Sanatan Dharmist by Religion. Applications stating age experience, and detailed qualifications with copies of testimonials must reach the DIRECTOR OF PUBLIC INSTRUCTION, Jaipur State, Jaipur by the 10th of January, 1924.
A 18198

PROFESSION

PILES and FISTULA—Guaranteed radical cure. No operation No pain and no troubles All disorders stopped in a very short time. Trial solicited. VELSHI WAR SHIVARAO, Specialist in Piles and Fistula, No. 4, Raote Building, Girgaon, Bombay. Attendance 7 to 9-30 a.m. Evening 7 to 8 p.m.
R9078

LEPROSY AND LEUCODERMA.

10,000 PACKETS FREE.

I have arranged to distribute about 10,000 sample packets of my cure for LEUCODERMA or WHITE LEPROSY to prove its efficacy and to show that the disease is not incurable as supposed. It never fails. The sample packet will be enough to produce wonders in only one inch spot. Write for it at once per V. P. P for As. 8 to meet the cost of its transmission

Leprosy and its Treatment.

A close study of this treatise will enable even a lay reader to treat cases of leprosy and all forms of skin disease with success without the assistance of a medical man.

Price Rs. 2. V. P. charges As. 5.

Correspondence in Hindi, Urdu, Bengali or English.

PANDIT KRIPARAM.

Nadiharan Lane Salkia, CALCUTTA.

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KATNI
"CASTLE BRAND"
FIREBRICKS.
FIRECLAY.
BOILER SEATING BLOCKS.
FLUE COVERS.

THE FINEST FIRECLAY products manufactured in India and guaranteed to give longer service than any other make. All the above are available for immediate delivery ex our Bombay Godown.

Enquiries and orders will receive our prompt attention.

The Katni Cement and Industrial Co. Ltd.,
C. MACDONALD & CO.,
Agents.
Laxmi Building,
Ballard Road, Fort,
Bombay.

Tel. No. 418. TH

HEN EGG'S HALWA—Royal Tonic food for Winter Season. A positive necessity to all. Excellent in taste and flavour, 1st class Re 1-5, 2nd class Re. 1 per seer. Expenses extra. Price strictly in advance. NORMAN & CO., No. 27, Shah Supari Street, Darbhanga.
T 18311

PURE HENNA—We are cultivators of largest fields of Henna and supplying leaves and powders, at very moderate rates. Orders for large or small quantity solicited. THE ORIENTAL AND OCCIDENTAL CO., Fatehpuri, Delhi.
T R9283

THE IDEAL BEVERAGE FOR THE INDIAN CLIMATE—The well known Pure Munich Beer "Mathaserbrau"—at 18 per case of 2 doz. quarts or Rs. 24 per case of 4 doz. quarts F. O. R. Bombay from, GENERAL UTILITY PRODUCTS, Wine and Spirit Merchants, Imperial Chambers, Ballard Estate, Bombay.
T R8839

PHOTOGRAPHY.

PHOTOGRAPHS.

Photographs of general interest are invited from readers from all parts of India for publication in the "Sunday Chronicle." Preference will be given to topical photographs on subjects of political, general, engineering, and scientific interest. Accepted photographs will be paid for at usual rates.

All photographs must be sent to the

EDITOR,
Sunday Chronicle.

EDUCATIONAL.

INSTITUTE OF COMMERCE—Estd., 1906 Sound Training in Book-keeping, Banking, Law Auditing etc., for L.C.C. and F.C.R.A Exams. imparted by Principals A. J. Mukati, F.L.A.A. and R. S. Bharucha, F.C.R.A (late of Kalbadevi S. T. Institute) Enrolment daily. Fees moderate. Classes held Morning and Evening in Kanta Buildings, Kalbadevi Road, Bombay. Prospectus on applications.
M TH

AMUSEMENTS.

IMPERIAL

present

To-night and during this week
Second Instalment
(Six parts)
Here is a picture, which every true Hindu should see.

"PATNI PRATAP"
"PATNI PRATAP"

produce by
MADAN THEATRES LIMITED
featuring
Miss Patience Cooper

Audience of every character will enjoy this picture. It's filled with suspense, surprise, thrill and love interest.

PATHE GAZETTE

Daily 5-15, 7 8-45, & 10-30 P. M.
Sat. & Sunday Extra Show
3-30 P. M.
PRICE AS USUAL
ALWAYS A GOOD SHOW.

AMUSEMENTS.

GRAND OPENING NIGHT
SATURDAY 29th DECEMBER AT 9-30 P.M.

KARLEKAR'S GRAND CIRCUS.

Location—Open Maidan, Palva Road, Girgaum.

Prof. SHANKER RAO presents
XTRA ORDINARY XPENSIVE NGAGEMENT of ELMO and E MA

THE STRONGEST MAN AND WOMAN IN THE WORLD.
First Appearance in India THE WORLD RECORD
MISS ADLE Daring and Novel Act on the Trapeze.
MISS COOK Charming Equestrienne.
Bengal Trio Famous Equestrians
High wire Artistes MISS NANI and ROSI
Two Rose Buds Contortionists
Miss Wilson and Miss Welby, Dancers.
DARE-DEVIL KANARAN
Bounding ROPE ACT.
VIRET THE GREAT CONTORTIONISTS.
THE RENOWNED KANARY TROUPE.
Consisting of 13 people including 2 Ladies most famous acrobats
RAGU BROS., the two Premier Jugglers.
MALABAR TRIO the most dangerous feats on Horizontal Bars.
NARAN TROUPE wonderful Equilibrists and Rizely Acrobats.
ANIE WITH HIS EDUCATIONAL DOG MASCOT.

Carl, Peters, and Lidu
Frolicsome Clowns.
FUN FOR OLD AND YOUNG

60 Performing Animals 60
A MAMMOTH MENAGERIE OF WILD BEASTS.
The Trained wild Animal-Exhibit by—
THE LION KING—PROFESSOR SHANKER RAO
with his Assistants Kera and Kondia marvellous Performances and many New astonishing novelties. You Should See this Great Show and get the greatest Return for your money.

MATINEES FROM SUNDAY 30th DECEMBER, AT 5 P. M.
Popular Prices including the Amusement taxes.

Box Single	5—10—0	2nd Class	2—4—0
Circle	4—8—0	Carpet Gallery	1—2—0
1st Class	3—6—0	Gallery	0—9—0

Prof. SHANKER RAO. Sole Proprietor. M. J. RATNAM. Business Manager.

Mr. Ganpatrao Bodas
WILL ACT IN BOTH THE PERFORMANCES
During the CHRISTMAS WEEK:
(UNDER PUBLIC PATRONAGE)
Lalitkaladarsha Sangit Natak Company:
FOUNDED BY THE LATE MR. KESHAVRAO BHONSLE
PRESENTS
ONLY TWO PERFORMANCES OF
MANAPMAN
(BY K. P. KHADILKAR)
Dhairyadhar—Mr. Pendharkar; Laxmidhar—Mr. Bodas; Bhamini—Mr. Chapekar
on THURSDAY the 27th December 1923 at (noon) 3 P. M.
IN THE
BALLIWALA GRAND THEATRE
Plan is open and Tickets can be purchased at the New Imperial Theatre (Novelty Cinema,) Grant Road Tram Terminus) DAILY from 8 A.M. to 11 A.M. and 3 P.M. to 8 P.M.
PENDHARKAR AND CHAPEKAR

ONLY FOR 15 DAYS.
Circus! To-Night!! Circus!!!
AND
Matinee Daily at 5 P.M.
ROYAL BAHADUR CIRCUS
GOWALIA TANK ROAD,
(Grant Road Tram Terminus.)
30 Continental Star Artistes 30
AND
Several well trained wild animals will present a specially selected Christmas Programme.

Under Public Patronage
Lalitkaladarsha Sangit Natak Mandali
Founded by
Late Mr KESHAVRAO BHONSLE.
AMRAOTI, GANESH THEATRE.
Saturday 29th Dec. 1923 at 9 p.m. (S.T.).
KAKSHASHI MAHATVAKANKSHA.
Proprietors:—Pendharkar & Chapekar.

Excelsior Theatre
DAILY AT 6-30 AND 10 p. m.
LADY DIANA MANNERS
IN
"THE VIRGIN QUEEN"

Empire Theatre
To-day at 6-30, 8-15 & 10 p. m.
"LADY GODIVA"
The Great European Classic.

Empress Theatre
To-day at 6-30, 8-15 and 10 p. m.
"LES MISERABLES"
Victor Hugo's Classic Masterpiece.

Gandharva Natak Mandli
SATURDAY 29-12-23 at 8-30 p. m.
NEW PLAY! NEW PLAY!!
Asha-Nirasha.
SUNDAY 30-12-23 at 3 p.m.
Mukund Muk-ay k.
ON TUESDAY 1-1-24
Specially on account of Holiday
at 3 p.m.
Swayamvar.

AMUSEMENTS.

You are Invited
NEXT SATURDAY—AND DURING THE NEXT WEEK
TO SEE
THE MOST STUPENDOUS LOVE DRAMA EVER TOLD

"MERRY GO ROUND"

12 REELS—12000 FEET.

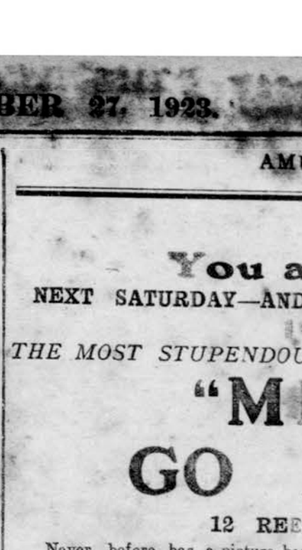
Never before has a picture been produced that compares with this magnificent picturization of the glittering glory of an emperor's court. With a background of the mad revelry, the scintillating fantastic whirl of life, love and ambition in the gayest city in the world, Vienna, is told the most exotic, the most poignant of love stories. See this great picturization of the love, laughter and tears behind the scenes of the most voluptuous existence ever established.

Starring
MARY PHILBIN
and
NORMAN KERRY

Supported by cast of rare brilliance and power.

This is the picture that astounded New York—the picture over which both press and public alike went into raptures during its record-breaking run on Broadway! Do not miss it!

A UNIVERSAL SUPER-JEWEL



ANTON VAVERKA IN REAL LIFE AND AS FRANZ JOSEPH IN "MERRY GO ROUND"

A WHIRLPOOL OF HUMAN EMOTIONS!

A fantastic, scintillating picturization of the life, love laughter and tears behind the scenes of an Emperor's court. With such a background is told the most beautiful, charming love story ever written. A vivid, gripping story of Vienna life, told with unerring skill, with sweeping, broad strokes. It is as if the romance itself was heightened through this colorful embroidery of atmosphere and background—the atmosphere of the majestic glory, glamour and magnificence of a royal court at the height of its brilliance.

A love story that bridged the canyons of wealth, station and even the command of an Emperor! The most poignant, beautiful love story ever told in literature or pictures! The night life of gorgeous, glittering Vienna resplendent with lavish gowns of beautiful women, the magnificient uniforms of pompous officers.

"MERRY GO ROUND"
A ONE-WEEK PICTURE!
See the Two-hour photodrama complete.
STARTING SATURDAY NEXT
AT THE
West-End Cinema
(New Churney Road.)

WEST-END CINEMA
An unusually powerful and intensely human photo-drama!
TO-NIGHT! THIS XMAS WEEK!
A Truly Big Picture
"WHAT'S YOUR REPUTATION WORTH?"
6 parts—featuring the pretty winsome
CORRINNE GRIFFITH
The story of a young girl who Sacrifices everything in order to make others happy
"WHAT'S YOUR REPUTATION WORTH?"
The strange story of a girl so impressed by a weird dream that she made her come true. This girl gave her reputation to the man she loved in order that it might find happiness. She had a hard struggle and went through many unusual adventures before she found happiness.
MASSIVE SETS, WINTER SPORTS, BEAUTIFUL SCENES AND INTENSIVELY HUMAN STORY ARE SOME OF HIGHLIGHTS OF PRODUCTION—A BIG PICTURE.
The Programme includes a 2-Reel Vitagraph Comedy "The Saw Mill" featuring
LERRY SEMON
To-Night: 5-30, 7, 8-45 and 10-30 p. m. (S.T.)
WEST-END CINEMA (NEW CHURNEY ROAD)

NOVELTY CINEMA
"TWO LITTLE URCHINS"
THE WHOLE SERIAL WILL BE RE-SHOWN AS UNDER.
THURSDAY 27th—Episodes 7 8 and 9.
FRIDAY 28th—Episodes 10-11 and 12.
TO-DAY 5-15; 7; 8-45 and 10-30 p.m.(S.T.)
NOVELTY CINEMA
(GRANT ROAD, TRAM TERMINUS.)

Digitized with financial assistance from the Government of Maharashtra on 11 April, 2017

PUBLIC NOTICES.

GOVERNMENT ANNOUNCEMENTS:—Legal and Public Notifications are published in these columns at the following rates:—

	Per column inch per insertion.
1st Insertion	Rs. 7-8-0
2nd Insertion	Rs. 5-8-0
3rd Insertion	Rs. 4-8-0
4th and subsequent insertion	Rs. 3-8-0

Mofussil advertisers are requested to send remittance in advance, and state clearly, whether they wish to insert their advertisements in these columns or in the classified short advertisements column.

THE BOMBAY GAS COMPANY, LTD.

(Incorporated in England.)

PRICE OF GAS.

THE DIRECTORS have much pleasure in announcing a decrease of As. 8 in the price of Gas per 1000 c. ft. from Rs. 6 to Rs. 5/8 for *lighting purposes only* as from the reading of meter indices at the end of December, 1923; so that these lower prices will be charged for gas consumed in January, 1924 and onwards.

The price for Bandra District will be Rs. 5/12.

BY ORDER.

Bombay, December, 1923.

C18471

NOTICE.

STOCK TAKING—Our business will be CLOSED from the 28th instant to the 1st January, 1924, both days inclusive, on account of Annual Stock Taking. The ZANDER ORTHOPEDIC AND MEDICO ELECTRIC INSTITUTE will be working as usual, excepting Sunday. N. POWELL & CO.

Bombay No. 4.

WANTED

FOR Guru Ramdas Cotton Mills, Amritsar, the following second hand Machines:—
(a) 30 Cotton Gins.
(b) One Cotton Press.
(c) 3, 5 and 7 Bowl Calender Machines.

Specifications together with lowest quotations should reach the Proprietors before the 15th January, 1924

J. K. BABBAR & CO.,
Amritsar.
18493

NOTICE.

OUR CUSTOMERS ARE HEREBY INFORMED that our Bill Collector Mr. R. KUMAR MEHTA is no longer in our service from 21st December, 1923 and are requested not to make any payments to him on our behalf.

SHALEBHOY TYEBJEE & SONS,

20, Bank Street, Fort, Bombay.
18468

NOTICE OF REMOVAL.

THE ASIATIC PETROLEUM CO. (India) Ltd., announce that they will be moving their office to their own building on the 29th December, 1923. Their address from that date will be:—

THE ASIATIC PETROLEUM CO. (India) Ltd.,
St. Helen's Court,
40, Ballard Estate,
Post Box No. 193, Bombay.
18430

BOMBAY PORT TRUST.

THE TRUSTEES of the Port of Bombay invite applications for the appointment of CHIEF ACCOUNTANT.

The pay of the post is Rs. 1,800 per mensem rising by annual increments of Rs. 100 to Rs. 2,300 per mensem, plus House allowance at Rs. 100 per mensem in the case of a married officer whose family is resident in Bombay and who is not allotted Port Trust quarters at 10 per cent. of salary.

The selected candidate will be required to pass a medical examination, subject to which and to the sanction of the Government of Bombay, he will be appointed on agreement for three years in the first instance. A first class passage to Bombay will be provided in the case of a candidate selected in England. On expiry of his agreement, if considered suitable by the Trustees, he will be confirmed as Chief Accountant on the permanent staff.

The Trustees' service is not pensionable and the selected candidate will be required to subscribe to the Trustees' Provident Fund and will be subject to the Trustees' Leave Rules, which conform generally to those applicable to Government servants. Service on agreement will count for Provident Fund and leave if the candidate is confirmed on expiry of his agreement.

Applications, giving full particulars regarding age, nationality, education, previous experience and qualifications, and accompanied by copies of testimonials, should be addressed to the Deputy Chairman, Bombay Port Trust Bombay, and will be received up to the 1st January, 1924. Applications should be marked "Appointment of Chief Accountant."

By Order of the Trustees,
W. R. S. SHARPE,
Deputy Chairman.
C17847.

AUCTION SALE.

GANDHI & CO.

Auctioneers and Commission Agents,
No. 72, Medows Street, Fort,
Telephone No. 4927.

SALE THIS DAY AT 4-30 P.M. (S.T.)

AUCTION SALE OF AN IMMOVEABLE PROPERTY SITUATE AT DE LIMA STREET MAZAGON WITHOUT THE FORT OF BOMBAY.

Messrs. GANDHI and Co., Auctioneers, will under instructions from Messrs. Khandwala and Chhotalal, Attorneys for the Mortgagees Messrs. Malukchand Jethaji and Co., and on account and at the risk of the Mortgagors Bhikaji Ramji Wareker, Shantaram Narayan Warekar Atmaram Narayan Warekar and Parbhakar Narayen Warekar the last named two being minors by their guardian Bhikaji Ramji Wareker and in exercise of the power of Sale contained in the Mortgage deed dated the 13th day of October 1919 and an Agreement to extend time and increase rate of interest dated 27th January 1921 sell by Public Auction the undermentioned immoveable property on Thursday the 27th December 1923 at 4-30 p.m. (S.T.) on the premises.

SCHEDULE.

All that piece or parcel of quit and ground rent Land or ground together with the messuage tenement or dwelling house standing thereon situate lying and being at De Lima Street outside the Fort of Bombay and in the Registration Sub-District of Bombay containing by admeasurement 230 square yards or thereabouts registered in the Books of the Collector of Land Revenue under Old No. 198-199 New No. 11512 Old Survey No. 459-459 and New Survey No. 5348 and bounded as follows that is to say on or towards the East by a private passage on or towards the West by the said De Lima Street on or towards the North by a public passage and on or towards the South by a Sweeper's passage and assessed by the Collector of Municipal Rates and taxes under E Ward No. 5061 and Street No. 33-35-37.

For further particulars and conditions of sale please apply to Messrs. Khandwala and Chhotalal Attorneys for the Mortgagees at their Office at Hornby Road Fort or to the undersigned.

GANDHI & CO.
Auctioneers.

Bombay, 27th December, 1923.

CRAWFORD & CO.

Auctioneers and Commission Agents.
122, Apollo Street, Fort, Bombay.
Telephone No. 521.

AUCTION SALE of very valuable and artistic household furniture by well-known makers, English telescopic screw dining table, arm and armless chairs, chairs, sideboards, dumbwaiters, Chesterfield sofas and easy chairs, carpats, brass and iron beds crockery, glassware, rich platedware etc., etc.

Messrs. CRAWFORD and Co., will sell by Public Auction on SUNDAY, the 30th December, 1923, at 2-30 p.m. (S.T.) at Daver House Opp. Empress Cinema, Lamington Road, very valuable and handsome made to order household furniture, rich glass and porcelainware, best platedware, English telescopic screw dining table arm and without arm chairs, sideboards, dumbwaiters and crockery stand, rich carpets, Electric fans and lamps drawing room suite, Chesterfield sofas and chairs, cabinets, ice box, writing tables, silver show case, glass door book cases, reclining sofas, mahoganized bed room furniture, single and double bedsteads mirror and plain almyrahs, dressing chest of drawers, dressing and wash hand tables, hat stands, singer's sewing machine, perambulater, Millner's safe, cane furniture, meat safe, aluminium utensils etc., etc.

The property of late Mr. H. F. Daver. Furniture is on view.

CRAWFORD & CO.,
Auctioneers.

Bombay, 27th December, 1923.

MISTRY & CO.

AUCTIONEERS.
8/10, Dean Lane, Fort.
Telephone 5152.

BONA-FIDE SALE.

On SUNDAY, the 30th instant, at 2-30 p.m. (S.T.) under instructions from a Furniture Merchant closing his business MISTRY and Co., will sell at Girgaum Road, Opp. Govindji Vasanji's Shop furniture such as drawing room suite, drawing room, cabinet office writing table office chairs mirror and panelled almirah cloth and gown press dressing tables, chest of drawers, teapoys meatsafe etc.

Property is on view.

MISTRY & CO.,
Auctioneers.

Bombay, 27th December, 1923.

Karnik's AGUE Mixture.
THE tried specific for Ague, Intermittent and all sorts of Malarial Fevers. Price As. 13.
KARNIK Depot—BOMBAY.
Karnik's AGUE Mixture.

THE PASSING SHOW IN THE COTTON MARKET.

The advance in cotton last week was ostensibly due to reduced crop estimates based upon predictions that the next ginning report would be sensationally small. But as everyone admits the inadequacy of this year's crop the most important phase of the problem has to do with the price at which the consumption of cotton will be so curtailed that it will be brought within the limits of prospective supply writes Mr. Theo H. Price in "Commerce and Finance" of November 21st.

The Census statement of October consumption in the United States would seem to indicate that in so far as this country is concerned the prices current earlier in the season did not much affect the demand.

Of foreign consumption the same statement would appear to be true in the light of the export movement for the season thus far. But these statistics have to do with the recent past when the market was four or five cents lower, for the cotton spun in October was probably bought months ago and the much talked of increase in exports is entirely attributable to the shipments in August and September.

In any attempt to estimate the future we are threfore driven to a consideration of the individual views of the many merchants whose business it is to distribute cotton goods among the public.

In an extensive trip through the South and Southwest from which I have just returned, I interviewed many of these merchants—retailers as well as jobbers. As a class they are conservative and naturally opposed to high prices which increase the risk and tend to limit the volume of their business.

The retailers and department store managers say that in so far as their business is concerned the mark-up made necessary by the recent advance in raw cotton has not yet been made and that the goods on hand which came from the mills last summer or earlier are moving normally. But the jobbers and wholesalers report that the hotels steamship companies and other large consumers who buy in quantity are already devising plans that will enable them to reduce their purchases.

As to the export demand, it is anybody's guess. Conditions in Europe are apparently growing less propitious, but in a speech delivered in the House of Commons on Friday, Winston Churchill said that "Nobody knows better than the members of the British Cotton Growing Association that however we may develop our tropical possessions we shall be compelled to buy cotton during our lifetime and in gigantic quantities from the United States."

There are some who insist that the decline in sterling as well as in the franc and most of the other European currencies will make it increasingly difficult for America to sell its cotton abroad, but as against this theory it is well to remember that the decline in foreign exchange connotes a corresponding dsgree of inflation overseas which will make the public there insensible to the increased cost of living as long as the papet currencies now being issued in such large quantities have any vestige of purchasing power left.

A kindred though somewhat dissimilar influence is at work in the United States. The enlargement in the supply of bank credit due to our continued importation of gold has so facilitated the flotation of new securities that we are experiencing the inflation that results from the rapid expenditure of easily borrowed money.

If Congress passes a soldiers' bonus bill during the coming winter this inflation will be augmented and there is no way by which its effect can be measured.

We are therefore facing an economic situation for which there is no historical precedent and dealing with forces of which we have no knowledge. There are many who believe that 35 cents for cotton will mark the top of the market. Until recently I was myself disposed to accept this view, but the rapid depreciation in the purchasing power of money all over the world which is a consequence of the world wide inflation now taking place leads me to feel that the past is more than usually worthless as a guide to the future.

High prices should reduce consumption, but until the supply is absolutely exhausted it is doubtful whether they will have this effect as long as the manufacture of paper money in Europe and the distension of credit in America continue.

Y. Y. Y.
Pure Virginian Cigarettes

Sold in tins of 50
At all Tobacconists.
Made in England by
RAMADAN TOBACCO CO., LTD.
London.

COMMERCIAL.

COTTON.

	Liverpool, Dec. 24. To-day's prices.	
Cotton Del. M. U. G. O. C. Liverpool.	Jan.	20.41 +05
	Mar.	20.37 +06
	May	20.16 +02
	July	19.66 +04

OPENING TONE AND PRICES.

Liverpool, Dec. 24.

Future delivery prices:—

Months	To-day's Prices.
Dec.	—
Jan.	20.26—
Feb.	—
Mar.	—
April	19.35 +04
May	—
June	—
July	—
Aug.	19.13 +04
Sept.	—
Oct.	—
Nov.	—
Egyptians Mar.	19.66 +04
May.	16.44—
	23.10

AMERICAN COTTON—CLOSING PRICES.

	New York, Dec. 24. To-day's Prices.	
Futures at New York.	Jan.	34.74—03
	Mar.	35.17+03
	May	35.32 +08
	July	34.47 +05

AMERICAN MARKETS.

New York, Dec. 24.

Day's Receipts at all U.S. Ports		47,000
" Exports to Great Britain		31,000
" " Continent		7,000
Futures at New York		
" " "	Jan.	34.74 —.03
" " "	Mar.	35.17 —.03
" " "	May.	35.32 +.08
" " "	July.	34.47 +.05
Spot Cotton at New York		36.35 +.05
Spot Cotton at New Orleans		35.00 —
Futures " "	Mar.	35.22 +.17
" " "	May	35.01 +.10
Fair Rio Coffee (No. 7 quality)		10 11/16
Silver Foreign mined		64 3/8

WHEAT AND SEEDS.

Bombay, Dec. 26. 6-30 p. m.

The following are to-day's closing Rates as issued by the Bombay Grain Merchants' Association—

	Bazar Terms.	Rail Delivery.
Wheat, White Delhi 70-30	42 0 0	8 8 0
Wheat White Cawnpore 70-30	38 0 0	8 6 0
Wheat, Karachi Bangla	44 0 0	8 12 0
Rapeseed, Brown Delhi	10 4 0	10 12 0
Rapeseed, Brown Cawnpore	10 4 0	10 12 0
Rapeseed, Yellow Cawnpore	11 4 0	11 12 0
Linseed, Brown Bold	13 11 0	14 3 0
Linseed, Brown Thin	13 6 0	13 14 0
Teelseed, White 85-15	82 0 0	16 0 0
Teelseed, Gajar 75-25	74 0 0	15 0 0
Teelseed, Gajar 50-50	74 0 0	14 0 0
Teelseed, Black	68 0 0	13 10 0
Poppyseed, White	12 12 0	13 10 0
Groundnuts	71 0 0	—
Mowraseed	9 4 0	9 8 0
Barley	30 0 0	
Castorseed	74 0 0	15 0 0
Cotton Seeds Ready		
Delivery	39 8 0	5 10 0
Forward.	Rs. a. p.	
Wheat, April/May	4 4 6	
Linseed, April/May	12 14 6	
Groundnut., Dec. Jan.	71 0 0	
Teelseed Gajar, 85-15 Dec./Jan.	15 14 0	

METAL—LOCAL MARKET.

BRASS.

	Bombay, Dec. 26 per md.	Rs. a. p.
Brass, English	3/4	66 8 0
Brass	1/	64 12 0
Brass	1 1/4	64 12 0
Brass	1 1/2	64 12 0
Brass	1 3/4	64 12 0
Brass	2/	64 12 0

COPPER.

	Bombay, Dec. 26. per md.	Rs. a. p.
Copper, English	3/4	71 0 0
Copper	1/	71 0 0
Copper	1 1/4	71 0 0
Copper	1 1/2	71 0 0
Copper, American	1 1/2	71 8 0
Copper	1 3/4	74 8 0
Copper	2/	74 8 0
Japanese Copper Bars		61 0 0
Panch Teka Joint		27 0 0
Copper, English Bars		61 0 0
Brass Bars		40 0 0
Pat Kiai		66 8 0
Lead, Country		20 0 0
German Brass M 3/4		63 8 0
German Brass 1, 1 1/4 to 1 1/2 1 3/4 to 2		62 4 0
English Copper 1 3/4 to 2		73 0 0
American Copper 3/4 to 1, 1 1/4		71 8 0

London, Dec. 24.

Telegraph Transfers	..	1/5 1/4 Steady.
Bar Gold		£ 4 05/1 Quiet
Bar Silver Spot		" 33 9/16 Quiet

LOCAL EXCHANGE QUOTATIONS.

Bombay Dec. 25. Market Rates.

Bank Telegraphic	1/5 5/32
Bank Demand	1/5 3/16
Doc. Acceptance 3m/s	1/5 1/2
Fcs. Demand ..	580
American Dollars	324
Hongkong Dollars	168
Shanghai	239
Japan	150 3/4
Singapore	165 1/2

Market—Steady.

EXCHANGE ON CONTINENTAL CENTRES MIDDLE QUOTATIONS.

London, Dec. 24.

Exchange on London to Paris	+
" " " Germany	—
" " " Italy	—
[illegible]	18.49
[illegible]	29.33
[illegible]	11.46
[illegible]	25.90
[illegible]	95.2[illegible]
[illegible]	225.00
Demand Bills	4.84.37
5 per cent Bank's	23 7/8

BULLION MOVEMENT.

SAMUEL MONTAGU REPORT.

LONDON, Dec. 5.

GOLD.

The Bank of England gold reserve against its note issue on the 28th ult. was £125,345,270 as compared with £125,940,915 on the previous Wednesday.

The Indian and Continental demand this week has been moderate, and the greater part of he fair amount of gold on offer will probably be shipped into the United States.

Gold valued at $7,906,000 has been received in New York from London.

The following extract is from the "Times of India" under date of November 17th last:—

GOLD IN CURRENCY RESERVE.

Information is now available regarding the operation, which the Government of India contemplate in connection with the gold held in the Currency Reserve. There is to be no shipment to London, but £2,500,000 worth of gold is to be sold for delivery in India against payment in sterling in London. While public opinion would have opposed the shipping of any portion of the gold out of India, the present proposition is not open to the same objection. The convertibility of the note issue is assured with 99 crores in silver coin and bullion and 22½ crores in gold out of a total note circulation of 121 crores, and from that point of view the present action of the Government is not open to criticism. The objects of the operation are stated to be the conversion of a small part of the metallic holding into securities which will bring in an interest return to the Government, at the same time taking advantage for this purpose of the existing premium on gold as measured in sterling. It has also the intcidental advantage that the remittance to London will be effected at the prevailing favourable rates of exchange. As a business proposition the transaction is a sound one, and on grounds of economy alone, the arrangement should meet generally with approval. The convertibility of the note issue is already ensured by the unprecedentedly large silver and gold holdings and there will be a profit to the Government both from the interest on investments and from the premium on gold. The holding of Indian securities in the Currency Reserve, viz., over 57 crores, is already beyond the limit of safety, and any further investments such as those now contemplated should be in short-term British sterling securities."

The following figures show the Indian net trade in gold and silver (on private and Government account) for the first seven months of the present financial year:—

March 1923 Gold net imports 613 lakhs of rupees, Silver net imports 128 lakhs of rupees.

April 1923, Gold net imports 696 lakhs of rupees, Silver net imports 92 lakhs of rupees.

May 1923, Gold net imports 303 lakhs of rupees, Silver net imports 150 lakhs of rupees.

June 1923, Gold net imports 205 lakhs of rupees, Silver net imports 175 lakhs of rupees.

July 1923, Gold net imports 243 lakhs of rupees, Silver net imports 140 lakhs of rupees.

August 1923 Gold net imports 113 lakhs of rupees, Silver net imports 182 lakhs of rupees.

September 1923, Gold net imports 232 lakhs of rupees, Silver net imports 99 lakhs of rupees.

Total 1923, Gold net imports 2,408 lakhs of rupees, Silver net imports 966 lakhs of rupees.

SILVER.

The continued firmness of the China exchange and bear covering have well maintained prices this week. A very heavy shipment, expected to be at least 3,000 bars, mostly for China, will leave by the steamer on Friday. The withdrawal of this large amount has put some strain on London stocks, and buyers have had to pay for the privilege of shipping by this the last steamer from London that can forward its cargo in comfortable time for the Chinese New Year. It also happens to be the Bombay settlement steamer week, though fortunately for China, the Indian enquiry has not been keen. The Continent and America have fed the market, and India has at times been a seller for forward delivery. The tendency of the market seems flattening.

Under date of the 16th ult., friends of ours in Bombay have favoured us with the following interesting details touching the recent speculative accumulations in that city:—

"This total record surplus was taken up by the principal bull (not with a view to corner but as delivered to him against options). He succeeded in selling it off promptly just after the finish of the settlement. The highest rate in the October settlement was Rs. 83. The bazaar dealers, who had been continually bearing since the announcement during May that the American Government had suspended purchasing silver under the Pittman Act, covered their sales for the November settlement taking advantage of the principal bull sales, fearing that China would buy, and now that the Indian season would commence the upcountry demand for the metal would also increase. Some heavy losses have been made by the bazaar in these operations running over about six months."

INDIAN CURRENCY RETURNS.

(In lakhs of rupees.)

Notes in circulation November 15 17,954, November 22 17,878, November 30 17,830

Silver coin and bullion in India November 15 9,774, November 22 9,698, November 30 9,550.

Silver coin and bullion out of India.

Gold coin and bullion in India November 15 2,232, November 22 2,232, November 30 2,232.

Gold coin and bullion out of India.

Securities (Indian Government) November 15 5 748, November 22 5,748, November 30 5,748.

Securities (British Government) November 15, 200, November 22 200, November 30 300.

No silver coinage was reported during the week ending 30th ult.

The stock in Shanghai on the 1st instant consisted of about 20,900,000 ounces in sycee, 29,000,000 dollars, and 3,430 silver bars, as compared with about 20 250,000 ounces in sycee, 32,000,000 dollars, and 130 silver bars on the 24th ult.

Statistics for the month of November are appended:—

BAR SILVER P. OZ. STD.

Highest Price cash delivery 33.5/8d. two months' delivery 33.1/4d. bar gold p. oz. fine 96s./11d.

Lowest Price cash delivery 31.3/4d. two months' delivery 1.3/8d. bar gold p. oz. fine 92s./d.

Average Price cash delivery 32.774d. two months' delivery 32.522d. bar gold p. oz. fine 94s./1.0d.

Quotations:—

BAR SILVER P. OZ. STD.

November 29th 33.1/4d. cash.
November 30th 33.7/16d. cash.
December 1st 33.1/4d. cash.
December 3rd 33.3/8d. cash.
December 4th 33.1/4d. cash.
December 5th 33.1/16d. cash.

BAR GOLD P. OZ. FINE.

November 29th 32.3/4d. 2 mos. 94s./8d.
November 30th 32.13/16d. 2 mos. 94s./11d.
December 1st 32. 7/8d. 2 mos.
December 3rd 32.3/4d. 2 mos. 94s./10d.
December 4th 32.3/4d. 2 mos. 95s./1d
December 5th 32d.11/16d. 2 mos. 94s./10d.
32.770d. 2 mos. Average 94s./10d.

The quotations to-day for cash and forward delivery are respectively the same as, and 1/16d. above those fixed a week ago.

LOCAL MILL CLOTHS—QUOTATIONS.

(ISSUED BY THE HINDUSTANI NATIVE MERCHANTS' ASSOCIATION.)

Bombay, Dec. 23.

	Rs. a. p.
Khadi—	
Textile	1 3 0
E. D. Sassoon	1 3 0
Elphinstone	1 3 0
Longcloth (Full weight) 34/40 inches—	
Standard per lb.	1 8 0
Century per lb	1 7 0
Hindustan per lb.	1 8 0
Fazulbhai per lb.	1 8 0
Textile per lb.	1 8 0
Phoenix per lb.	1 7 6
Pearl per lb.	1 7 6
Mirchi (Gaw Mark) per lb.	1 6 6
Elphinstone (Reid) per lb.	1 8 0
Joseph (Four Mirar) per lb.	1 7 0
Longcloth (Light weight) No. 5202/5203—	
Rachael per lb.	1 8 6
Fazal per lb.	1 8 0
E. D. Sassoon per lb.	1 8 6
Longcloth—A Quality.	
Rachael per lb.	1 8 6
Fazulbhai per lb	1 8 6
Swan Finley per lb	1 8 6
Longcloth Satin Calendar, 34/40.	
Textile (hand)	1 7 0
Spring (Merchant) per lb.	1 7 0
Century (Bugle) per lb.	1 6 0
Bombay Cotton	1 5 6
Pelhiwan	1 8 0
Hanuman Brand	1 0 0
Satins—	
Pabaney per lb.	1 8 0
Spring (Merchant) per lb.	1 7 0
Grey Drill, Cassidy—	
Dhooties 7, 8, and 9 Yards—	
Spring (Balance) per lb.	1 10 0
Jacob E. D. per lb.	1 9 0
Textile (Bicycle) per lb.	1 10 0
Dhooties 10 yards—	
Spring (Balance) per lb.	1 8 0
Textile (Bicycle) per lb.	1 8 0
Cheek 5 lb. Grey Drill—	
Standard per piece	7 8 0
Phoenix per piece	7 8 0
Swan Finley per piece	7 6 0
Hindustan per piece	7 12 0
Cheek 5 1/2 lb. Grey Drill—	
Pearl per piece	7 8 0
Bleached Cheek—	
Kasturchand per piece	8 0 0
Bombay United per piece	8 0 0
Black Cheek 5 lb—	
Textile per piece	10 0 0
E. D. Rachael per piece	8 12 0
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Pearl	13 0 0
Hindustan	12 0 0

ALL-INDIA WEATHER.

(ASSOCIATED PRESS.)

SIMLA, Dec. 26.

The depression near the Bay is moving in a north-easterly direction. Rain has fallen nearly generally on the Chittagong and Arakan coasts and locally in Upper Burma with a few falls in Orissa.

The chief amounts are:—Kyaukpyu, Akyab, Mandalay, Cox's Bazar and Chittagong half an inch.

Forecast:—Increase in north and Central Burma.

GOVERNMENT OBSERVATORY, COLABA.

Bombay, 25th Dec. 1923.

Means of observations taken at 8 a.m., 10 a.m. 2 p.m., 4 p.m., and 10 p.m.,

Barometer corrected to 32 deg. Fahr.	29.863 inches
Temperature of Air	72.7 degrees
Wet Bulb Thermometer	63.4 "
Dew Point	56.5 "
Relative humidity of Air	58% "
Extent of cloudy sky (the whole sky cloudy equal to 10)	0.2 "
Maximum temperature of Air	81.5 "
Minimum do. do.	65.1 "
General direction of Wind from midnight to midnight	NNE,NNW,N.
Movement of Wind from midnight to midnight	miles 174

SUN, MOON AND TIDES AT BOMBAY.

Day of Week	Day of Month	HIGH WATER. Bombay Mean Time	Depth on Still	LOW WATER. Day of Month	Bombay Mean Time	Depth on Still
	Dec.	h. m. ft. in.		Dec.	h. m. ft. in.	
W.	26	1 3 29 1		26	7 12 19 0	
		12 51 26 6			18 47 16 [illegible]	
Th.	27	1 34 28 11		27	7 48 18 0	
		13 30 26 4			19 22 16 [illegible]	
F.	25	0 32 29 1		25	6 38 19 [illegible]	
		12 15 26 6			18 12 16 [illegible]	
Sat.	28	2 9 28 6		28	8 24 19 7	
		14 15 26 0			19 58 17 0	
S.	30	3 27 27 6		30	9 57 18 [illegible]	
		16 2 25 4			21 37 16 7	
M.	31	4 55 27 0		31	11 5 18 3	
	Jan.	17 15 25 3		Jan.	22 57 20 6	
Tu.	1	5 20 26 6		1	12 21 18 0	
		18 46 25 7			[illegible]	

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Mr. Placid A. Soris writes from Nawara Eliya, Ceylon, on 7th May 1922:—I also tried another astrologer in Holland, but I had not in my life-time experienced a better Astrologer than you.

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LITERATURE AND ART

THE MAKING OF PUBLIC OPINION

Public opinion, it seems, is the panacea of all political evils at the present day in our country. Whether it is the problem of Indian nationals abroad or of fiscal reform, the word goes round that what is needed is the organisation of a strong and intelligent "public opinion" on such public questions. Publicity bureaus are started, whether by the Government or the Congress with a view to educate "public opinion" while an appeal to "public opinion" is the last refuge of a baffled politician. This tender partiality for public opinion is natural partly because the existing political system rests, at every vital point, on a consistent denial of such opinion and partly because the Swaraj to which the nation looks forward will after all mean Government by public opinion. As public opinion, particularly in its political aspect, is in a rudimentary state in India, our desire to make it a powerful political weapon can be easily understood. Even the suffering Satyagrahi hopes to enlighten, elevate and strengthen public opinion and make its moral force irresistible.

In the West, however, public opinion is no longer longed for, but studied. It is curious that the democratic theory till the present day has never attempted to discover the meaning of public opinion and to analyse the psychic, economic and sociological forces that go towards the making of it. But it is now coming to be recognised that the difficulties of representative government lie not in the difficulty of finding appropriate mechanisms for the expression of public opinion, but in the fact that there is very little instructed and reliable public opinion to express. An able survey of the factors that contribute to the forming of public opinion was made last year by the well-known American writer Mr. Walter Lippmann in a volume entitled "Public Opinion."* The work is suggestive rather than exhaustive, but Mr. Lippmann's is the first serious effort to analyse the sources of public opinion which may well give it a place beside Prof. Graham Wallas' "Human Nature in Politics." Mr. Lippmann distrusts all facile theories which make a mystery of public opinion and introduce some mystical element like the "general will" or "the national soul" or "the spirit of the age", as forces actually formulating public opinion. He shows that as each of us is confined to a small corner of this vast and complex world, our opinions about what are called public affairs are formed by our having mental pictures in our heads. But these pictures have not the quality of objective truths. There are external and internal limitations which distort and pervert a man's personal opinion about any public event. Mr. Lippmann makes a profound study of both these kinds of obstacles. Our access to information, our approaches to the world outside, are narrow, obstructed and uncertain. Censorship and privacy, meagreness of time and lack of social opportunities, distance of space and time—all intervene and give one a faint, fragmentary and often even wholly unreliable pincture of the event in question. Nor is this all. Out of the same event, different spectators will construct different scenes, according to attention, selection and valuation they bring to bear upon it. For the mind of man is itself full of images, preconceptions and prejudices owing to hereditary and environmental conditions. The limited messages from outside so inefficiently transmitted are woven into our mental fabric and become crystallised as stereotypes. The pictures in our minds are varied in subtle ways, but they are represented publicly by a number of symbolic phrases which unite men who would be divided if they had to discuss a specific programme instead. It would be interesting, for example, to find out the reasons which may have prompted different electors to vote for a Swaraj Party candidate. Some would vote for personal or communal reasons, others would say that they are, after all, Congressmen, still others that the Liberals had been given a chance and found wanting and some, because they genuinely believed in the Party's principles. But they are all combined on a symbol of Non-co-operation and "wrecking"—however divergent the motives that may have led them to vote. So, in fact, is a working common will achieved—not by an intelligent and self-conscious synthesis, but a series of haphazard, opportunistic and partially realised compromises. And not merely does such a series of stereotyped images pass as "public opinion", but in democratic countries it becomes a guiding factor of Governmental policy.

How to cure this political malady? Newspapers which are generally blamed for polluting the springs of public opinion are, according to Mr. Lippmann, only a symptom of the disease, not the disease itself. The trouble is partly due to the fact that there are, in any given political case, very few reliable means of obtaining and communicating truth and very few objective standards by which to test and sift news and views. Hence our news is inaccurate, our reasoning slipshod and interested, our public opinions of little scientific value. Mr. Lippmann discusses the problem of the press at some length, but looks to political science to collect sound data leading to reliable generalisations on political affairs. The way of securing an informed and effective public opinion is not very easy. For, as Mr. Lippmann himself has shown, some of the causes of the unreliable nature of public opinion lie embedded in the very quality of the human mind. Mr. Lippmann hopes that quantitative analysis and more efficient methods of record and audit will go a long way in checking shallow generalisations and it is possible that they will. But the thorniest questions in politics are qualitative, not quantitative. Nor is politics wholly a matter of science as Mr. Lippmann seems to believe. It is also an art and the contribution that social sciences can make to the practice of governance may be easily exaggerated. Nevertheless representative Government must ally itself with scientific attitude or be lost. For the development of such an attitude, Mr. Lippmann's work is a reasoned plea.

*"Public Opinion" by Walter Lippmann (Allen and Unwin 12s. 6d.)

SOME RECENT WORKS ON REPARATIONS.

"GERMANY AND HER DEBTS"—By L. L. B. Augas.
"GERMANY'S CAPACITY TO PAY"—H. G. Moulton and C. E. McGuire.

The problem of exacting the stipulated reparations from Germany has become so complicated that it may well be doubted if the average reader in non-German countries at all tries to understand the elements of the situation. He is but too much accustomed to take for granted all such stereotyped phrases as that "Germany must be made to pay" or that "Germany cannot possibly pay" coupled with the corrollary as that the economic recovery of the whole world cannot take place until the problem is solved once for all. But the growing indifference to this central problem of present-day economic life,—which culminated in the last British election being expressly fought on the issue of protection to the British home industries in the local and imperial markets because it was felt hopeless to recover the continental markets—will bring its own Nemesis. If Europe will not now solve this central problem, she shall not afterwards be allowed to solve it in her own way. And that is why every thoughtful student of the present day problems welcomes every attempt at elucidating the complexities of this seemingly eternal puzzle. Of the two recent publications on this subject, that of Mr. Augas sets out to disprove Mr. Keynes' proposition that "The German pre-war export quantum limits Germany's post-war capacity to pay." The author of the "Economic Consequences of the peace" and of the "Revision of the Treaty" starts with the obvious principle that the foreign indebtedness of a nation can be liquidated only by means of a surplus of goods the debtor nation has for export; that Germany after the War, being shorn of much of her territory, and consequently of her productive capacity, must necessarily undergo a reduction of her exportable surplus; and this would be further intensified by the weakening of the physique and morale her people have undergone and during five years of war privations. The load fixed upon Germany by way of reparations in the Versailles Treaty has been calculated according to pre-war basis of German capacity, which, being quite different from the post-war facts demands a revision of the treaty, and reduction of the obligations imposed there under.

Mr. Augas considers this to be a fundamentally wrong reasoning. He takes account of the economic as well as political and psychological factors affecting the Reparations problem, and thinks that the real problem has been created at all because the German Government does not want to pay, because under the influence of the great German industrialists, they have instituted a system of export control which prevents an export surplus from materialising, even if it in fact exists, because the allied governments are afraid to ask too little and unable to get what they have asked; and because in consequence of all this the German Government is following a policy of budget deficits, currency inflation and conniving at tax exasions which must necessarily intensify the problem, and make it seem irremediable.

Mr. Augas' thesis is plausible, but unconvincing. His discussion of the export control system is suggestive and instructive; but he seems to give too much importance to the mere question of exchange movements, and does not allow sufficiently for the purchasing power parities—as Dr. Cassel describes the phenomenon. He argues, for example that by continually operating on the foreign exchanges market by means of a genuine budget surplus, the German Government could bring about a continual stimulus to keep up an export surplus. But it is difficult to see the difference between the Government operation on the Exchange market by means of a budget surplus, which has not yet been realised by any German Government, and by means of new creations of "fiat" money as every Government in Germany has done. Of course the latter brings up the whole series of misfortunes beginning with inflation and ending with bankruptcy. But to get a real budget surplus, there really must be a surplus of production over consumption,—and therefore an exportable surplus, which is precisely the point at issue. Is there such a surplus? Mr. Keynes says no. Mr. Augas says: Yes. We confess we find Mr. Keynes' reasoning far more logical.

His main reasoning appearing to be thus unconvincing, it is immaterial, relatively speaking, if the concrete plan for securing reparations payments in 40 odd years, with annually progressive amount for the first 20 years and regressive instalments thereafter, as outlined by Mr. Augas in the concluding chapter does not sound very acceptable. Still it is better than a mere analysis of the situation attempted by Messrs. Moulton and McGuire. This latter book may be more serviceable to the student in its wealth of appendices and information, both historical and statistical but as a contribution to economic economic statesmanship it can hardly be described as a work of the first order. That Germany needs some indispensable imports if she is to live at all, and which must necessarily limit the size of her exportable surplus; and that even if Germany regained her pre-war industrial efficiency her exports would still be effectually restricted owing to the reduction of the available markets, does not carry us very far on the road to a solution, which, at the moment of writing, seems more distant and hopeless than ever before.

DAMAGED SOULS.

Damaged Souls Constable and Co. Price 15/s. net.

The author of this book, Mr. Gamaliel Bradford, an American, tells us in his preface that he was asked to write a series of biographical studies of characters who figuring in the national history of America "have loomed over-large in their own day and have shone with a false glory. In dealing with such a gallery we should expect you to proceed ruthlessly and with scant deference to tradition." He objected that such a work of destruction was not worth doing and that in the end it was likely to do more injury to the critic than to the criticized. He preferred to do" a group of somewhat discredited figures, and not endeavour in any way to rehabilitate or whitewash, but to bring out their real humanity and, show that, after all, they have something of the same strength and weakness as all of us."

On these lines he has dealt with seven men who played prominent parts in America's history. He begins with Benedict Arnold—born in 1741—who betrayed his country. Yet "he was a splendid fighter, apparently a sincere and earnest patriot, admired and esteemed by thousands and praised and trusted by Washington." He was devotedly loved by two noble women, his first and second wives, who knew and suffered from his faults, and he tenderly loved his children. Yet his quick violent temper kept him involved in quarrels and duels. He is fearlessly brave yet he allows his friend to suffer the death of a spy while he himself makes good his escape. The study of this "Damaged Soul" is most interesting and very skilfully done. Indeed the same must be said of all the other characters portrayed, namely Thomas Paine Aaron Burr, John Randolph, John Brown, Phineas T. Barnum, and Benjamin Franklin Butler. Each has both virtues and vices and none is a complete rascal. Of John Brown he writes "He was perhaps the most curious American example of the intensity of fanatical enthusiasm." This enthusiasm in the cause of anti-slavery makes him responsible for the brutal murder of five pro-slavery men, and in 1859 for the raid which ended in the deaths of various peaceful citizens and several of his own followers—and to his own imprisonment and death by hanging.

The great fault in an otherwise fine character was Intolerance. Such intolerance "kills compromise and mutual understanding. It breeds wrath and violence." It cut him off from all ease and beauty in life and forced him to dominate and control everything and everybody to one end. Through it all he believed he acted under the direct guidance of God, and this belief brings him joy and peace in prison and supports him with courage and dignity to the gallows. The book is well arranged, each study is prefaced by a short chronological table and portrait of the subject. There is a good index and copious notes.

In the compiling of the work the writer says "one learns the lesson of tolerance, of recognising the certainty of mixed motives for every action and of inclining more and more to a larger humanity." And so does the reader—hence its value.

A TRAVELLER IN EUROPE.

"Rambles in the Evening Countries", by Nolini Mohun Chaterjee. Published by the author at Camac Street, Calcutta.

This is an account of the author's travels in Europe compiled from his diary and notes made at the time. Hence one gets his fresh and original impressions of men and things and in the Preface he tells us the lesson he has learnt as a result of his observations, and that is, "Self-respect is the foremost virtue in the man and in the woman, it comes to them from civilization of high order; without it the race is set back and recedes to the humble civilization of the sands and the jungle." He regrets the lack of "character" among his fellow-countrymen and the lack of co-operation in work between the Eastern men and women as compared with those of the West. He says: "The spirit of man in the East is indolent and crippled; it receives not the aid and impulse from the spirit of woman, who is kept in bondage, and forced to live in meaningless mummery of superstition and custom, sanctified by religions, which weigh her down and crush her." Mr. Chaterpee paid particular attention to the wonderful scientific method of agriculture in Denmark and has given the results of his study for the benefit of India. His ideas are sound and should be thoughtfully perused by all who wish to see an improvement in Indian agriculture. Altogether, this is an interesting, well-informed and pleasant little book.

"SHARAB-E-TAHOOR."

"Sharab-e-Tahoor", edited by Soofi Syed Mahomed Abedmia bin Habibullah alias Bademia Saheb, of Ladysmith, Natal, and published by Mia Yousoof A. Mullasaheb, of Ladysmith, at the Alam Afroze Press, Sandhurst Road, Bombay.

"Sharab-e-Tahoor" is the Pure (divine) Wine. This name is given to a booklet edited by Soofi Syed Mahomed Abedmia of Ladysmith, Natal, wherein the author has dealt with several subjects with apt quotations from the Koran and other sacred works and with remarkable lucidity of style and ease of expression. He has pointed out, clearly and unequivocally, the true path which devout Muslims, and mankind in general, should tread in the midst of various temptations and difficulties that they have to contend with, in their daily walk of life. The chapters on "Jealousy", "Vanity", *"Takdir and Tadbir"*, "Enduring of suffering for securing knowledge of God", "Abstinence from engrossing in ephemeral worldly pursuits", and the like, are worth perusal. There is not a single dull page throughout this book, the perusal of which is enlivened by interspersing suitable anecdotes. There are several books of this type in Urdu and Arabic, but, as the author points out in his introduction, he has supplied a longfelt want by providing Gujerati readers with wholesome mental food in Gujerati (though naturally the author has made use of Arabic and Urdu terms here and there). The book is not published with an eye to pecuniary gain. A copy of it will be supplied to any one on application to Mr. M. M. Amod, P. O. Box 47, Ladysmith, Natal.

SIR JOHN MOORE.

"The Life and Letters of Sir John Moore", by Beatrice Brownrigg. 6s. Basil Blackwell, Oxford.

Sir John Moore was born and lived when the British army seemed to pass through an inexplicable period of stagnation. The great successes of Clive and Wolffe had been won before the future general was born; while the triumphs of Wellington, whether due to luck or genius, had yet to be achieved, when Moore died. Besides, all through the period of his life, the Navy was literally the senior service, and the exploits of the Army, therefore, received not that meed of attention that perhaps was its due. Finally, in that age, the British Army had to be engaged in struggles which the subsequent historian has found it impossible to be quite jubilant over. After all the events of the American War of Independence, with the exploits like those of Lord Cornwallis are not precisely such as to be very proud of. It is probably such a chain of reasoning as this which would explain the relative obscurity which has hitherto attended the memory of a man, who, if not quite a "heaven-born" general, was certainly a very efficient, if somewhat unfortunate, soldier, and loved his profession and knew it. The study now presented does not, however, do much to redeem the reputation of a great soldier, nor rise to the level of the expectations roused by the preface. A woman author attempting such a subject must necessarily be at a disadvantage. She has tried, as she herself says in the preface, to tell the story of Moore's life in Moore's own words as far as possible, and, in tracing the history of her hero, has avoided, except as a background, the history of the nations which becomes very closely connected with the story of the hero. We confess we miss in this study that insight into the motives of men and their judgment of their contemporaries, which make the study of biography always interesting and often piquant. And the military reader would miss even more any account, critical and instructive from a soldier's point of view, of those great battles in which Moore took a leading part. What contribution there is of interest in this line comes from the principal actor in the drama itself, and the compiler of his diaries cannot claim much credit for anything for than selection. With these omissions, unavoidable to the writer, the book may be quite interesting to readers whose imagination has been aroused by that noble elegy on Moore's death that almost every school-boy now reads.

EIGHTEENTH CENTURY WRITERS.

"Eighteenth Century Vignettes." 1. Austin Dobson. Oxford University Press.

The volume under review is the first of the popular series of essays by Austin Dobson on the writers of the eighteenth century. The essays are twenty-one in number and deal with a variety of subjects from Steele's letters, Spence's anecdotes to Goldsmith, Cowper and Hogarth. They are written in a simple, lucid and pleasing style and give a very graphic picture of the great writers' life, works, traits and peculiarities of character. As Sir Walter Besant says: "To sit and bask in the sunshine of the eighteenth century, with Austin Dobson turning on the sun, is a rare and a holy joy." The book is well got-up and should be found a valuable companion by Indian readers.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

(1) Annual Report of the Posts and Telegraphs for 1922-23, price Re. 1.

(2) Gandhi Shikshan—parts 1 to 13, by Nagindas Amulakhrai, Bombay.

(3) Spiritual Swadeshi or Humanitarian Nationalism, by G. Harisarvattoma Rao, Madras, price Re. 1.

(4) Life Sketches of the late Mr. Cawasji Dinshaw and Sir Hormusji Cawasji Dinshaw, by S. H. Jhabvala, Bombay.

The following volumes of the Dhatuvritti of Madhavacharya, edited by A. Mahadeva Sastri and K. Rangacharya, and published by the Mysore Government Branch Press, are wanted by a German professor, who is professor of Sanskrit in a German university:—

Volume I, Part I; Volume I, Part 2; Volume 2, Part I; Volume 2, Part 2.

Any one who has these volumes and wishes to sell them should write to Mr. G. M. Jadhav, Shivaji Road, Baroda, stating the price. The German professor is very anxious to have the books for his work.

(Continued from column 6.)

and accomplished representation of a very magnificent phase of it. It was splendid and attractive, but somewhat superficial and rarely touched the deep springs of life. Its greatest successes were achieved in portraiture and in the representation of the scenes of courtly pomps and pageantry. It failed even to reflect the best features of the Islamic culture of Moghul India. In it, we shall look in vain, for a presentation of the spirituality of Islamic thought which incarnated in Moghul architecture and contemporary literature. It never really took root on the soil of Indian thought itself and for ever remained outside the fringe of it. Yet with all its limitations Moghul Painting affords a cinematographic picture of the glorious pageant of Moghul history, visualised with remarkable actuality. And for that account alone, must be regarded as a brilliant episode in the History of Indian Painting.

ART NOTES.

AN ARTISTIC CENTRE.

There are, it is evident, not many in this city who have started thinking about its capacity as one of the chief centres in the country where artistic currents can meet, gather strength and constantly inspire new evangelists. Its immense influence, power and almost infinite potentialities as an artistic centre have not yet begun to be examined by citizens peculiarly prone to speculations which tend to perpetuate the worst horrors of industrialism. It is obviously for the institutions, associations, social groups and unions responsible for the cultural future of the young in the city to start thinking about the change in the speculations and help the city to escape its inhuman proclivities. The lecture by Mr. Gangoly, last week, at the Royal Asiatic Society, on "Moghal Paintings" was, it may be hoped, a sign which indicates the recognition of the changing needs of the times as probably the only way of maintaining the intellectual prestige of the city. Not a few of those who listened to Mr. Gangoly's speech have figured prominently in the public. How many of them realised their responsibility? Mr. Gangoly developed his theme too quickly for them. They had gathered there not so much for examining their conclusions as for information about an "interesting" topic. It was good, therefore, that Mr. Gangoly had brought with him the correct slides.

MUGHAL PAINTINGS.

Mr. Gangoly's speech should have been for the particular audience, more narrative and persuasive rather than suggestive. That is only another way of saying that our artistic needs are greater than those of Bengal. We have only just begun to feel hungry. Mr. Gangoly's speech contained, no doubt, many provocative points for enquiry and investigation. His references to the date of origin of the Mughal School, the influence of the Persian and the European artists, of court patronage, of the aristocratic and secular tendencies as affecting the art of the people and the comparison and contrasts between the Rajput and Mughal paintings as well as the interesting artistic developments in the smaller States after the decline of the Mughal Empire should be appreciated by careful study.

ART SOCIALS.

Mr. Gangoly's lecture was, it should not be forgotten, preceded by a lecture on the same subject by Mr. Somers at the Y. M. C. A. It was a lecture that did not attract attention. It was, to use the reporter's pet phrase, a "select" audience that listened to the lecturer. Whatever the character of the audience may be the attendance was by no means encouraging. Why was that so? When will the citizens of the "first city" begin to return the right response to such activities? It was, undoubtedly, an audience of an entirely different character, from those present at Mr. Gangoly's and Mr. Somers' speeches, that one saw at the social gathering arranged some time back by Mr. Phadke. It was surely encouraging and really "select". Mr. Gangoly attracted enlightened enthusiasts, Mr. Somers attracted, shall we say, stray souls, whereas the assembly at Ram Bag consisted mainly of artists and workers. It appeared as, more or less, a family affair. The artists did, as a matter of fact, discuss their peculiar troubles, as in a family, with freedom and frankness. All these attempts although they differ serve the same purpose. All of them and more are essential and even indispensable for serving the different artistic needs of the community. All of them are useful in their own way. Their inititive and individual experiences are are ultimately a gain. But if the organisers of these lectures, exhibitions, and social gatherings could meet each other occasionally, say, once or twice a year socially, in an informal manner, and bring together all those sincerely interested in the promotion of art and beauty, the dead inertia, that so effectively minimises the good results they expect, would be more speedily removed. We need, as Captain Gladstone Solomon says, "a renewal of faith."

TOWARDS, "THE STAR."

We have got to work for it. There are some, as he rightly points out in his recently published "bijoux" booklet "Jottings at Ajjanta," "who would appraise the merit of the work in India's annual Picture Exhibitions according to the closeness with which it approaches European methods and conventions in art. There are some who believe that there is no modern Art in India except what Europe can instil; and many Indians though, of course, they know the fallacy, have been obliged to conform for the sake of a livelihood. Yet while Western Art slumbered after the birth-pangs of her mighty Hellenic Brood in the troughs of the Outer Darkness the Star of Indian Art had risen high and was still soaring Heavenwards." We have to work and aim towards that Star. But before we can do that we must remove the prevalent superstitions and ignorance and remove also the necessity which compels many to disown their priceless heritage "for the sake of a livelihood." Otherwise, we will be too contemptible worms to gaze at the Star.

ABOUT FOUNTAINS.

No visitor to the city can stay here long without feeling perplexed at the mentality of the citizens who seem to have cultivated a scientific attitude not only for mismanaging the civic duties, but for actually perverting the amenities that still exist. How many years is it since the fountains in the city have ceased to function? They are not mere decorative adjuncts. They are, in a city like this, in this climate, a necessity. The pedestrian is sufficiently harrased by the obstacles race in the streets. He does not need the fountains. If they are not to be utilised, they had better be removed at once.

MOGHUL PAINTINGS.

RECENT RESEARCHES &

The following is the resume of an illustrated lecture delivered by Mr. O.C. Gangoly, Editor of "Rupam", Calcutta, before the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society on Tuesday.

The lecturer began by examining the definitions "Indo-Persian" and "Indo-Timurid" hitherto given to this interesting phase of Indian Painting developed under the influence and patronage of the Moghul Court. He said, one startling fact that recent researches have discovered is that more than seventy-five per cent of the artists at the Moghul Courts were Indian rather than Persian, beginning from the time of Akbar himself. The great Moghul put together a group of indigenous artists to start a "new" school in contact with the imported Persian artists. Akbar did, indeed, set his Indian artists to copy the manners and mannerisms of Persian Painting—but the practising Indian artists of the time had too much individuality to succumb to the influences of Persian masters, and they soon asserted their own style which was very remote from the character and quality of Persian Painting, its ... temper, its outlook, and its technique.

But this distinctive form of expression was not immediately evolved—it remained under the leading strings of Persian traditions, during the greater part of the reign of Akbar, represented by his drawing master Abdul Samad, the "Shirin qualam" and Mahammad Nadir of Samarqnand. But by the end of Akbar's reign, the guild of his court painters evolved an independent style which could no longer be regarded as the descendant of Persian traditions. In the realm of book illustration, however, the Persian manner continued to dominate the Indian artists, and some of the illuminated manuscripts of the time of Jahangir and Shahjehan honourably upheld the glories of Persian decorative art.

It is generally believed that Indo-Persian painting begins with Akbar. Mr. Gangoly showed two very remarkable pictures of the pre-Moghul Period which undoubtedly proved the Indian contact with "Persian and the Turkestan schools a few centuries earlier. The second one was a very characteristic Indian subject realised through the formula of a Persian vocabulary. Though there are practically nothing of the time of Akbar, authenticated specimens of the time of Humayun are furnished by the remarkable series of illustrations of the "Romance of Amir Hamza" one of which had extorted the admiration of William Morris, the great English decorative artist. Mr. Gangoly then proceeded to illustrate, by characteristic examples the remarkable series of book illustrations which were the glories of the Imperial library of Akbar, the examples cited being drawn from the Waqiat-i-Babari, Akbarnamah, Darabnamah, Razarnamah, Khalila-Dimnah, Tarzuma-i-Mahabharat, Nala-Daman and Yoga-Vashist, the last three being of particular value as the records of the interest of the Moghul princes in Hindu religious literature.

But it was in the domain of portraits that Moghul Painting attained its hihgest forms of expression. Indead the key-note and the glory of the school was in the magnificent pallery of portraits for which there is hardly any parallel any where else. Akbar was practically the founder of Moghul Portraiture which was quite distinct in quality from the portraits of Bokhara school. Persian Painting was very little interested in depicting individual portraits. On the other hand, the psychology of Moghul culture lay chiefly in the glorification of the Moghul princes, their courts, their hunts, their games and their pageants. The romantic stories, so popular with the Persian Painters, soon lost their hold on the Moghul princes—a fact very tritely illustrated in a very characteristic saying attributed to Prince Danyal, Akbar's son:—"Let the poets and artists take for their subject *what we have ourselves seen and heard.*"

With the help of a series of slides, the lecturer called up a vivid picture of the atmosphere of the Moghul courts;—the portraits of Akbar, Shah Jahan, Jahangir, Parviz, Malla-Do-Pyaza, Tansen, Mansingh, Hakim Sadra, and Malik Ambar being of particular interest.

The lecturer then proceeded to illustrate the process by which the art of the painter proper as distinguished from that of the calligrapher gradually emancipated itself, from the trammels of book-illustration, and the ultimate evolution of the portfolio pictures. Mr. Gangoly then proceeded to trace the development of Moghul painting through the reigns of Akbar, Jahangir, Shah Jahan and Aurangzeb uptill the decentralisation of Moghul schools following its offshoots in such remote places as Bijapur Hyderabad and Patna. Mr. Gangoly, however, was able to cite a remarkable picture from one of the British Museum albums, representing the visit of Shah Jahan to a Musulman saint, rendered in an animated group organised by a scheme of intensely decorative composition. Next to the very interesting series of animal subjects contributed by the Mansur school, the lecturer drew attention to a beautiful example of portrait by a lady artist named Shahifa-Banu—the only name of a lady artist known to the Moghul School. This led to a very fertile discussion as to how far the portraits which enrich the shining gallery of Moghul Begums and princesses represent actual portraits. Mr. Gangoly referred to the evidence of Manucci, the famous Venetian traveller, who has remarked on the impossibility of obtaining likenesses of queens and princesses who lived under very strict *purdah*, carefully hidden away from vulgar gazes. The conditions were therefore, favourable for the production of an ideal type of feminine beauty as Mr. Gangoly, was able to demonstrate, by characteristic examples from a series of serene portraits of remarkable feminine charm and loveliness. The lecturer closed his bird's eye view, by touching on the phase in which the manners and technique of Moghul Painting commingle with the purely Hindu-art of Rajputana. In drawing the distinction between the two different, yet contemporaneous streams of Indian culture, the lecturer emphasised on the peculiar temper and inspiration of Moghul painting and its limitatiins. It was not an idealisation of life but a refined

(Continued in column 4.)

BOMBAY RACING SEASON.

FOURTH EXTRA MEETING.

BELL METAL WINS THE VICTORY PLATE.

Ideal weather favoured the fourth extra meeting of the Bombay Racing Season at Mahalaxmi yesterday. The attendance was large as boxing day is a recognized day for sports all over. The programme again was not very interesting. The big event of the day was the Victory Plate in which ten horses ran. This race was won by Bell Metal. The public was let down very badly in this race as Asquilegia, the street corner tip, only managed to come third.

The first event on the programme was the Borovli Plate (1st Division) of 6 furlongs for Arab Ponies in the 3rd Division. In this race nine declined leaving a field of eleven to start. The public would hear nothing but Last Call who it was rumoured had given a wonderful track gallop. This pony, however, is known to be somewhat unreliable and has caused disappointment to his connections more than once. Yesterday he was evidently not in the best of moods as he ran a bad fourth in spite of the assistance of Burn. The race was won by Grey Renard who fought an exciting finish with Arman while White Rose, who also was well fancied, was a close third. In the second division of the same plate the field was larger as only five declined. Here again a hot favourite let down the public in All Clear who won so comfortably the Hamadan Plate on the 15th instant. Shrewd punters, however, did not touch him as he is known to be good only for five furlongs. He proved this in the race; he ran prominently as far as the bend, and pottered away. This race was won by Forfeit who beat Mashook easily by one and three quarter lengths.

Zigomar, Old Sport, Prospective Chap and Talma declined in the Lewes Plate of 1 mile, a handicap for horses in the 3rd Division. The favourite in this race was Moonshiner who did not disappoint the public this time. He won as he liked from Perambulator the property of Mr. C. N. Wadia. He is a three years colt by Junior and Lady Cor. In this race Cronan by Corcyra—Chauntric did the running during the greater part of the journey. He, too, is a young colt that gives promise of better things by and by. Sauce also ran prominently; she needs watching—Lady Loo, Jones up, ran as was expected and secured a place. Etheldene was unlucky to miss a place as he was moving very well at the finish. He will surely do better next time. Sagittarius who was a dark tip got away badly and remained in the ruck.

A very small field ran in the Rous Handicap. In this race Talma cut the pace all the way and was beaten in front of the stand. Lady Cleopatra again demonstrated her unwillingness to run. She ran second last thus keeping company with Southwell who brought up the rear. Black Water ran well and Neap Tide, who by the way had the services of Burn, who evidently did not care to ride the recalcitrant Lady Cleopatra, came fourth. The winner of this race was Pomme Anna who won by a much shorter margin than indicated by the official verdict. Pomme Anna a four years old gelding by Pommern-Dona Ana has been knocking at the door lately. This was a very popular win as is always the case when Mr. Kelso's colours are successful.

The biggest event of the day, the Victory Plate, was run at 4.45 p.m. and was keenly awaited as for days together speculation ran rife as to the winner. The selection of most people fell on Aquilegia, though Festivity was well spoken of unfortunately a serious attack of fever at the last moment prevented him from taking part. Next to Aquilegia, and Belle Voyageuse attracted most attention and Mr. Eve's bracket had a considerable following. Many did not believe that Margaret Joyce, the erstwhile, champion sprinter would stay ten furlongs though of late she has developed staying qualities. She ran very well and might have won had Burn set her going earlier. Bell Metal, the winner of this race, created somewhat of a surprise as it was his second outings of the season and had disappointed many in the Winter Plate at the first Extra Meeting in which he was expected to give a good account of himself. Schiehallion and Fitzclarence both disappointed a large following. The former is new to the country and is far from being ready. From the manner he ran yesterday it looks as if he requires a good deal of preparation yet. The public received a severe shock when it was realized that Aquilegia had failed to secure first honours.

The Kolhapur's bracket Husky and Danzig was elected favourite in the next event, the Lingfield Plate of 6 furlongs for horses in the 2nd Division. Though both ran a good race they could not snatch first place from Belvedere who also won by a much smaller margin than the official verdict. There was a lot of talk about White Fang, but though he had the service of R. Jones he never made any display in the race. Courier is another one who ran disappointingly.

Resident who is suffering from fever, Andolis and Ornate were scratched in the Marine Lines Plate, the last race of the day. This event was won by Kooleb who took the lead from Malabar soon after the start and was never headed. He won comfortably from Baktavar ably ridden by A. Bowley. I have to remark again that there was no police man present to help the public in their difficulties with hack Victoriawallahs who seem to have their own way in every respect on a race day. The manner they drive is a disgrace to any city. Year after year the same complaint is made but one might as well cry in the wilderness.

Details:—

THE BORIVLI PLATE. (Div. I.)—Distance 6 furlongs, 41 yards

Winner, Rs. 1,000; second, Rs. 300; third, Rs. 200. For Arab Ponies 14 hands and under in the 3rd Division, 14 hands to carry 9st W. I. Winners since 31st March 1922, once, 4 lbs.; twice ,7 lbs.; oftener, 12 lbs.

Mr. Eve's GREY RENARD 8-10, G. Smith
Mr. Shaik Esmail Mahomed's ARMAN 9-3, Easton 2
Mr. H. Noormohamed's WHITE ROSE 8-10, F. Huxley 3
Mr. Heath's ZAIDAN 9-0 McPherson 4

Not run—Watee, Clinker, Rajput, Small Boy, Angler, Thousand, Novelty, Swari, Balance.

Also ran:—Delyar Jung 9-4 R Jones; Last Call 9-0 Burn; Rex 9-0 Barnett; Moon 9-0 Audas; Taj 8-10 Purtoosingh; Nasaralla 8-2 Harrison; Subeck 7-8 Sheldon.

The race:—The barrier rose to a bad start. Last Call was the last to get away. Taj was quickest into his stride on the outside, but did not keep his lead for long. Delyar Jung now went to the front, but was soon headed by Grey Renard, the order after him being Delyar Jung, Last Call, Arman, Zaidan and Rex. Moon was running last at this stage. At the 4th furlong Delyar Jung fell back. Grey Reynard was still in front with Last Call second and Arman third. They came round the turn in this order. Grey Renard went on pursued by Arman. The two were fighting out the issue when White Rose made a strong rush in front of the stands and joined them a fine finish ensued, Grey Renard just getting home by a short head. White Rose was third a neck behind. Zaidan was a bad fourth 2 lengths away. Last Call finished up the straight, and was beaten out of fourth place by Zaidan.

Time—1min. 25 3-5 secs.

1st Tote paid Rs. 137 for win and Rs. 33, 50-8 and 19-8 for places.

2nd Tote paid Rs. 60 for win and Rs. 15-8, 21-8 and Rs. 10-8 for places.

3rd Tote paid Rs. 33-8 for win and Rs. 8-8, Rs. 14-8 and Rs. 6-8 for places.

Favourite:—Last Call.
Trainer:—A. Hoyt.

THE BORIVLI PLATE. (Div. II.) Distance 6 furlongs, 41 yards

Winner, Rs. 1,000; second, Rs. 300; third, Rs. 200. For Arab Ponies 14 hands and under in the 3rd Division, 14 hands to carry 8st. W. I. Winners since 31st March 1922, once 4 lbs.; twice, 7lbs. oftener, 12 lbs.

H. H. Maharaja of Kolhapur's FORFEIT 9-7 Clarke 1
Mr. A. K. Essa's MASHOOK 8-10 Barnett 2
Messrs. A. M. Shmlan and A. M. Khairaz's PALEFACE 9-0 Sheldon 3
Messrs. Hoosain Kadum and Syed Mohamed's Nakib's MAHIR 9-0 G. Smith 4

Not run.—Dirrah, Honeysuckle, Rakhit, Kasid Karim, Bijli.

Also ran:—Kamel 9-4 Purtoosingh; Ajeel 9-4 Harrison; Sylvanmore 8-9 Burn; Express 9-0 Fahad; Rector 9-0 Ladoo; Vasco 9-0 Khalil; Prince 8-10 Aldridge; Glass 8-8 Herbert; All Clear 8-6 F Huxley; Muzyed 8-6 Audas; Last Day 8-2 R. Jones.

The race:—Another bad start. When the field settled down, All Clear forced the pace, closely followed by Mahir, Forfeit, Mashook and Kamel. Prince brought up the rear. Sylvanmore was running in the bunch. This order was maintained till they entered the straight where All Clear shot his bolt. Forfeit drew out here and went on to win easily, despite the challenge of Mashook, by 12 lengths. Paleface made his run too late and finished strong a neck behind Mashook. Mahir who placed fourth tried rapidly opposite the grand stand and finished 12 lengths. All Clear ultimately finished last.

Time.—1min. 25 1-5secs.

1st Tote pad Rs. 83-8 for win and Rs. 28, Rs. 25-8 and Rs. 61 for places.

2nd Tote paid Rs. 56-8 for win and Rs. 17-8, Rs. 17, and Rs. 31-8 for places.

3rd Tot epaid Rs. 39 for win and Rs. 9, Rs. 10, and Rs. 29 for places

Favourite:—All Clear.
Trainer:—Byramjee Rustomjee.

THE LEWES PLATE. Distance 1 mile.

Winner, Rs. 2,500;, scond Rs. 750; third, Rs. 500. A Handicap for Horses in the 3rd Division.

Mr. Eve's MOONSHINER 8-8 G. Smith ... 1
Mr. C. N. Wadia's PERAMBULATOR 7-9 Herbert 2
Mr. Darcy's LADY LOO 8-3 Jones 3
Messrs. Pine and A. S. Molcobhoy's ETHELDENE 8-12 Bowley 4

Not run.—Zigomar, Old Sport Prospective Chap, Talma.

Also ran:—Sauce 9-6 Sheldon; Book Lore 8-13 Wallace; Nikolski 8-12 Akhtar; Lorenza 8-5 Audas; King's Own 7-11 Clarke; Sagittarius 7-7 H. Walker.

The race:—They were despatched on fairly level terms. Cronan dashed to the front and showed the way to Book Lore, Sauce, Moonshiner, Lady Loo, Perambulator and Etheldene. Sagittarius brought up the rear far behind. Cronan and Book Lore kept their positions as far as the fourth furlong where Moonshiner went to the front closely attended by Sauce, Lady Loo and Perambulator. Moonshiner entered the straight first with Sauce close up. Sauce soon tried up the straight and Moonshiner went on to him easily by 2 lengths from Perambulator who came strong near home. Lady Loo was third 2 lengths behind and a head in front of Etheldene who was travelling well at the finish.

Time.—1min. 39 4-5 secs

1st Tote paid Rs. 37 for win and Rs. 14-8, Rs. 21 and Rs. 19 for places.

2nd Tote paid Rs. 10 for win and Rs. 7, 13-8 and Rs. 10-8 for places.

3rd Tote paid Rs. 6 for win and Rs. 4, Rs. 10-8 and Rs. 6-8 for places.

Favourite:—Moonshiner.
Trainer:—A. Hoyt.

THE ROUS HANDICAP. Distance 1 Mile, 1 Furlong.

Winner Rs. 4,000; second Rs. 1,250; third Rs. 750. A Handicap for Horses in the 2nd and 3rd Divisions which have not won since March 31st 1922, a flat race value of Rs. 4,000 or flat races of the aggregate value of Rs. 6,000.

Mr. Kelso's POMME ANNA 7-5 Purtoosingh 1
Mr. Heath's BLACKWATER 8-2 McPherson 2
Mr. C. N. Wadia's TALMA 7-12 Herbert ... 3
Mr. Ahmed Hazamy's NEAP TIDE 9-0, Burn 4

Not run.—Prospective Chap.

Also ran:—Southern Beauty 9-10 Aldridge; Lady Cleopatra 8-11 F. Huxley; Southwell 7-9 H. Walker.

The race:—Pomme Anna gave trouble, but eventually got away well. Southwell was the last to jump out. Talma was the quickest away and led from Southern Beauty, Blackwater, Pomme Anna and Neap Tide. At the 6th furlong Pomme Anna moved up and was running second to Talma. Blackwater was third and Neap Tide fourth. Lady Cleopatra was now running in the rear. Neap Tide moved up to third position after the fourth furlong. Talma brought his field round the bend, but was soon passed by Pomme Anna. Blackwater challenged Pomme Anna in front of the stands, but could make no impression on the winner who won comfortably by 1½ lengths. Talma was a bad third 3 lengths behind. Neap Tide finished fourth 2 lengths away.

Time:—1 min. 55 secs.

1st Tote paid Rs. 56-8 for win and Rs. 26, and Rs. 33-8 for places.

2nd Tote paid Rs. 24 for win and Rs. 12, and Rs. 13 for places.

3rd Tote paid Rs. 16 for win and Rs. 7, and Rs. 7-8 for places.

Favourite:—Pomme Anna and Neap Tide.
Trainer:—E. S. Godfrey.

THE VICTORY PLATE.—Distance 1¼ miles.

Winner Rs. 15,000; second Rs. 5,000; third Rs. 3,000. A Handicap for Horses in the 1st and 2nd Divisions.

Mr A Hoyt's BELL METAL, 8-2, Bowley 1
Mr A M Khairap's MARGARET JOYCE, 8-1, Burn 2
Mr C N Wadia's AQUILEGIA, 7-9, Herbert 3
Mr J N De Souza's GRANDE PLACE, 8-6, Barnett 4

Not run:—Swithin, Brixworth, Festivity, Troilus.

Also ran:—Schiehallion 8-0 G Smith; Fitzclarence 7-11 Harrison; Lemoine 7-9 Aldridge; Belle Voyageuse II 9-0 R Jones; Marmion 8-4 Clarke; Love Glass 7-3 Purtoosingh.

The race:—A good start and on setting down Aquilegia assumed command, his nearest attendants being Love Glass, Marmion, Belle Voyageuse II, Bell Metal, Schiehallion and Grande Place. At the 6th furlong post Aquilegia was still in front of Bell Metal, Schiehallion, Marmion, Belle Voyageuse II, Love Glass and Grande Place. This order was maintained till nearing the 3rd furlong where schiehallion dropped back rapidly. Bell Metal collapsed Aquilegia here and entered the straight first; he went on to win easily by 1½ lengths. Margaret Joyce who was lying in the rush for the greater part of the journey started moving only in front of the second enclosure and coming very strong passed Aquilegia by 1½ lengths. Grande Place was an indifferent fourth 4 lengths behind Aquilegia.

Time:—2 mins. 6 2/5 secs.

1st Tote paid:—Win Rs. 130; Places Rs. 24, Rs. 19-8 and Rs. 14-8.

2nd Tote paid:—Win Rs. 105-8; Places Rs. 18-8, Rs. 9-8 and Rs. 7-8.

3rd Tote paid:—Win Rs. 75-8; Places Rs. 11-8, Rs. 6 and Rs. 4-8.

Favourite:—Aquilegia.
Trainer:—A. Hoyt.

THE LINGFIELD PLATE.—Distance 6 furlongs, 41 yards.

Winner Rs. 5,000; second Rs. 1,500; third Rs. 1,000. A Handicap for Horses in the 2nd Division.

Mr A M Khairaz's BELVEDERE, 8-6, Burn 1
H H Maharaja of Kolhapur's HUSKY, 7-12, Clarke 2
H H Maharaja of Kolhapur's DANZIG, 7-2, Sheldon 3
Mr Eve's COURIER, 8-4, G Smith 4

Not run:—Coleby, Kaser Girl.

Also ran:—Huon River 9-6 McPherson; Scribble 8-5 Bowley; Voltage 7-5 Purtoosingh; Rackle 8-4 Audas; Magical 8-3 Aldridge; White Fang 8-0 R. Jones; Wood Harmony 7-8 Herbert.

The race:—A good start saw Magical go to the front for a brief space. Husky then took up the running and cracked the pace from White Fang, Danzig, Conrier, Huon River and Scribble. Rackle brought up the rear. At the 4th furlong Belvedere moved up and was running prominently. Nearing the 3rd furlong the order was Husky, White Fang, Courier, Danzig, Huon River and Belvedere. Husky was the first up the straight and was fighting out the issue with his stable companion Danzig when Belvedere came strong on the outside and after an exciting finish gained the verdict by ½ length. A short head separated Husky from Danzig. Courier was a fair fourth 1 length away.

Time:—1 min. 15 4/5 secs.

1st Tote paid:—Win Rs. 167-8; Places Rs. 44, Rs. 36-8 and Rs. 21-8.

2nd Tote paid:—Win Rs. 65-8; Places Rs. 19, Rs. 17 and Rs. 14.

3rd Tote paid:—Win Rs. 31-8; Places Rs. 10-8, Rs. 11 and Rs. 10.

Favourite:—Husky.
Trainer:—M. Ryan.

THE MARINE LINES PLATE.—Distance 5 furlongs.

Winner Rs. 4,000; second Rs. 1,250; third Rs. 750. A Handicap for Arab Ponies 14 hands and under in the 1st and 2nd Divisions.

Mr Heath's KOOLEB, 8-2, McPherson 1
Mr Eve's BAKTAVAR, 8-2, Bowley 2
Mr A M Khairaz's AMIN, 9-4, Burn 3
Mr T M Goculdass' STABILITY, 8-4, R Jones 4

Not ran:—Resident, Andolis, Ornate.

Also ran:—Dartmoor 9-9 Sheldon; Trade Mark 9-8 G Smith; Centry 8-10 Barnett; Malabar 7-4 Herbert; Sir Jamal 7-0 Purtoosingh.

The race:—The tapes went up to a fair start. Centry and Dartmoor were slow in moving off. Malabar flashed out for about half a furlong and then made way for Kooleb who cracked a hot pace. After Malabar came Stability. Baktavar and Amin. This order was maintained as far as the 3rd furlong where Baktavar moved up to second position. Stability was now running third closely followed by Amin. They came round the bend in this order Kooleb going strong to win by 1 length from Baktavar who tried his utmost to get on terms. Amin moved up strong on the outside and placed third 4 length behind Baktavar after displacing Stability by 2 lengths. Dartmoor finished slowly.

Time:—1 min. 6 4/5 secs.

1st Tote paid:—Win Rs. 79-8; Places Rs. 19-8, Rs. 29-8 and Rs. 16.

2nd Tote paid:—Win Rs. 37; Places Rs. 9-8, Rs. 16-8 and Rs. 8.

3rd Tote paid:—Win Rs. 23-8; Places Rs. 5-8, Rs. 9-8 and Rs. 5.

Favourite:—Amin.
Trainer:—Privately.

CALCUTTA RACES.

FIRST MEETING THIRD DAY.

(ASSOCIATED PRESS.)

CALCUTTA. Dec. 26.

The following are results of the Calcutta Races First Meeting, Third Day:—

THE NEWCASTLE PLATE:—Distance 1 mile.

Winner Rs. 5,000; second Rs. 2,000; and third Rs. 1,000. For horses 4 years old which have never won a flat race value Rs. 3,000 or over. W A and C reduced 10lbs with penalties and allowances.

Mr Carrie's LE GANUN 8-0 Ritchie 1
Mr Thaddeus' MOYODE 8-12 Perkins 2
Mr Vernen's UNRULY 9-7 Donoghue 3
Mr Lyon's BELGRAVE 7-7 Parker 4

Totalizators paid:—Win Rs. 201; Places Rs. 15 and Rs. 20.

THE X'MAS HANDICAP. Division II:—Distance 1¼ miles.

Winner Rs. 3,500; second Rs. 1,250; and third Rs. 750. Handicap for horses in 3rd Division.

Mr Galstaun's RONCEVAUX 8-11 Donoghue 1
Mr Jeffrey's BATTLE OF THE BOYNE 8-2 Townsend 2
Mr Eve's PERFECT DAY 9-4 Lambert .. 3
Mr Ali's CURATOR 8-6 Ritchie 4

Totalizators paid:—Win Rs. 57; Places Rs. 29 and Rs. 25.

THE VICEROY'S CUP.—Distance 1 3/4 miles.

Cup value £100 presented by H. E. the Viceroy. Cup and Rs. 30,000 to winner; second Rs. 10,000; and third Rs. 5,000. For horses in the 1st and 2nd Divisions W A and C.

Mr Ephraum's ORANGE WILLIAM 9-3 Morris 1
Mr Avasia's VALE OF YORK 9-0 Townsend 2
Mr Pannick's SWEET ADARE 9-3 Rily ... 3
Mr Galstaun's STARTSHUT 9-3 Parker ... 4

Totalizators paid:—Win Rs. 25½; Places Rs. 15½, Rs. 16½ and Rs. 34.

THE APCAR PLATE.—Distance 6 furlongs.

Winner Rs. 12,000; second Rs. 4,000; and third Rs. 2,000. Handicap for horses in 1st Division.

Mr Thaddeus' GOLDGAINER 8-0 Morris ... 1
Mr Eve's ROSTRUM 8-11 Lambert 2
Mr Avasia's QUARRYMAN 9-1 Townsend 3
Mr Eve's NICETY 8-12 A C Walker 4

Totalizators paid:—Win Rs. 53; Places Rs. 25 and Rs. 25½.

THE CURZON PLATE.—Distance 7 furlongs.

Winner Rs. 7,000; second Rs. 2,500; and third Rs. 1,250. Handicap for horses in 2nd Division.

Mr Vernon's CANTERBURY LAMB 8-9 Morris 1
Mr Galstaun's GILRAY 7-12 Donoghue ... 2
Mr Thaddeus' DIVIDE 8-11 Perkins 3
Mr Leckie's MARTIN 9-4 Riley 4

Totalizators paid:—Win Rs. 105½; Places Rs. 30½, Rs. 43 and Rs. 60½.

THE X'MAS HANDICAP. Division I.—Distance 1¼ miles.

Winner Rs. 3,500; second Rs. 1,250; and third Rs. 750. Handicap for horses in 3rd Division.

Mr Harper's SHIP'S BISCUIT 9-5 Morris 1
Mr Tarrant's MENTALITY 8-3 Townsend 2
Mr Eve's HAPPY TIMES 8-11 A C Walker 3
Mr Tichburne's CAPE CLEAR 8-1 Higgs ... 4

Totalizators paid:—Win Rs. 104; Places Rs. 25½, Rs. 16 and Rs. 25½.

MADRAS RACES.

(ASSOCIATED PRESS.)

MADRAS, Dec. 26.

Details:—

THE DESERT PLATE:—Distance about 1¼ miles.

Handicap for Arabs other than those classified in the 2nd Division

Mr A J Lokhandawalla's MAHTAB 7-13 Burgess 1
Mr F Bomanji's LOGIC 7-11 S Meekings ... 2
Mr A Sattar's EMPEROR 8-5 H McQuade 3
H H Harfortes' SHAH 7-2 Bona 4

Tote paid:—Win Rs. 26; Places Rs. 13, Rs. 21 and Rs. 13.

THE KIRLAMPUDI CUP.—Distance about 7 furlongs.

Handicap for ponies 14-2 and under other than thos classified in the 3rd Division or above.

Mr B Dees' BACHELOR'S CAPE 9-0 Harrowy 1
Rajah of Bobbili's HAPPY PRINCESS II 10-6 Fozard 2
Mr Crendon's CHATTY TALES 9-10 Reymond 3
Maharaja of Mysore's MAX 79/4 S Meekings 4

Tote paid:—Win Rs. 25; Places Rs. 67, Rs. 34 and Rs. 84.

THE ROYAPURAM PLATE.—Distance about 1 mile 1 furlong.

Handicap for horses in 4th Divisions.

Mr J O Robinson's DAFFUM 8-12 J Meekings 1
Rajaj of Venkatagiri's ORMEDOR 8-0 Wragg 2
Mrs Conran Smith's LAND LADY 8-9 Donnelly 3
Mr Sattar's CRESSON 8-10 H McQuade ... 4

Tote paid:—Win Rs. 112; Places Rs. 38, Rs. 45 and Rs. 51.

THE VENKATAGIRI CUP.—Distance about 5 furlongs.

A Handicap for Arabs.

Mr Ahmed Hazamy's REVOLVER, 8-3 Siely 1
Mr A Sattar's LOCKHMAN 8-11 H McQuade 2
Tote paid:—Win Rs. 63; Places Rs. 21, Rs. 25 and Rs. 31.

THE TRADES CUP.—Distance about 1 mile.

A high weight handicap for horses in the 3rd and 4th Divisions for 4 and 5 years old.

Maharaja of Mysore's KING'S DAUGHTER 8-2 S Meekings 1
Mr L S Dewes' TOYSMPHONY 7-3 car 7-10 Thompson 2
Zemindar of Sivaganga's LOW FORSE 8-2 White 3
Mr and Mrs G Wesche Dart's CHEERY GIRL 9-12 Whagg 4

Tote paid:—Win Rs. 45; Places Rs. 17, Rs. 33 and Rs. 31.

THE ALEPPO PLATE.—Distance about 5 furlongs.

Handicap for ponies 14-0 and under which have not won a race value of Rs. 1,000 or over since 31st March 1921

Maharaja of Kolhapur's HAMBAN 8-0 Whagg 1
Mr S R A Wahab's COCKEYE 8-12 S Meekings 2
Mr Sorabji's ABADAN 9-0 Burgess 3
Sir Ismail Sait's KLETITOR 8-12 H McQuade 4

Tote paid:—Win Rs. 118; Places Rs. 42/8, and Rs. 53.

THE HYDERABAD PLATE.—Distance about 5 furlongs.

A Handicap for horses in 3rd Division.

Mr W Coomber's DIPTHONG 7-4 Siely ... 1
Mr Fernandes' NICARGUA 8-8 Purgees ... 2
Mr Pogpose's THE OMALLEY 8-2 J Meekings 3
Mr and Mrs Wesche Dart's TROSTAN 8-9 Wrigg 4

Tote paid:—Win Rs. 41; Places Rs. 20, Rs. 38 and Rs. 24.

FIRE AT MAHIM.

LOSS ESTIMATED AT RS. 4,000.

A fire broke out on Wednesday noon at Mahim, Bazar Road, near the place where the annual fair (Ooras) takes place. The fire originated in a tea-shop belonging to Madhavdas Kalyandas and soon the flames spread to the adjoining pan-shop and a shooting gallery erected for the season belonging to Haji Noormohmed, which were considerably damaged. The Chinchpokli fire-engine was the first to arrive on the scene followed by another fire-engine from Mahim and put out the fire in about half an hour's time. The cause of fire is not known, but the loss is estimated at Rs. 4,000.

WANTED YARN FOR HAND LOOMS'

We have received samples of Khaddar woven on the six handlooms worked at Santa Cruz under the auspices of the Bombay Suburban District Congress Committee. These looms have been working for the last eight months and to judge from the sample before us there should be not eight but eighty looms working in Santa Cruz but, unfortunately, there is a danger of even these eight looms remaining idle; for the Committee is not able to get sufficient quantity of hand-spun yarn. This is a great pity. But it is hoped that those in Bombay and the Suburbs who have hitherto supplied yarn to the Committee will bestir themselves.

BOMBAY STRIKE SITUATION.

LABOUR DEMONSTRATION TO-DAY.

The lock-out of weavers of the Jacob Sassoon Mill did not end on Wednesday as was expected after the compromise arrived at between the mill agents and the deputation of the weavers. On Tuesday the mill was closed on account of Christmas and nothing occurred on that day. The management posted a notice on the mill gate on Wednesday intimating that the weaving department would be opened from that day (Wednesday) according to the previous arrangement arrived at with the deputation of the weavers on Monday last but the weavers did not seem to be in a mood to resume work. They collected about a thousand in number on Wednesday morning at the Mill gates and Mr. Jhabwala, Secretary, Mill Employees' Union, persuaded them to go to work but most of them refused to do so. A few of them went to work however but the others wended their way towards home. The management have therefore posted another notice intimating the strikers that they would be paid off on Thursday (to-day).

AN UNPLEASANT TURN.

The strike of the weavers (now it is no more a lock-out) at the Jacob Sassoon Mill has taken an unpleasant turn. The mill management in the morning kept the power and the looms working for about an hour but the men did not seem to take advantage of it. There were some old and experienced men who showed their willingness to go to work but they were prevented by their colleagues who did not see eye to eye with them. Though the management have expressed readiness to meet the men half-way, the latter harbour a feeling that they did not get their due wages according to the new scales. They say from September last the management have effected a change in picttts and wheels which reduce their wages by two pies per pound or in other words where they expect Rs. 50 per month they actually get Rs. 35 per month. They maintain that a question of principle is involved, and that for this change of picttts and wheels etc. the management should have given them a month's notice so that the operatives might decide whether to accept the new sacle or not. Mr. Jhabwalla exhorted the men to resume work at first and then to submit their grievances to the management but while some agreed to do so others refused and this created a tie and a consequent strike. It is hoped however that wiser counsel would prevail and the men would resume their work this week submitting their case to their leaders and the management for final arbitration.

THE MATUNGA LOCK-OUT.

Though there has been no change in the Matunga Lock-out yet the men are not idle spending their time doing nothing. They have appealed H. E. the Governor for intervention and an acknowledgement has already been received by Mr. Ginwalla from the Private Secretary that the letter has been placed before the Governor. In the meantime the men will have a grand demonstration to-day when they will pass in a procession from Parel to Girgaum and hold a mass meeting and lay their case before the Bombay public.

MUSLIM EXCISE MINISTER.

TO THE EDITOR OF "THE CHRONICLE."

Sir,—The Mussalmans of the Presidency are surprised to see a Muhamedan appointed as the Minister of Excise and I am sure Mr. Ali Muhamed Khan Saheb Dehalvi also may be sad to see himself in this awkward position! Khan Saheb, as far as I know, is a real Muslim and an ideal National worker. He is a very strict man to his religion and the truest follower of the holy Prophet. He has all abilities to carry the work successfully but I do not know, how he will be able to carry on with the wine-making department which is absolutely *haram* for a Muslim! The Mussalmans, according to their religious rules *must stop* the use of wine, then, will the Muslim Minister follow his religion and do away with this department because this is the only department that has ruined the Indians and also insulted the Hindu and the Muslim religions!

But how to make up the loss? India is not a small country. A huge fertile land each and every inch of it is gold and silver. India's Forests and Agriculture can feed whole of Europe if some good brains like that of Mr. Ali Muhamed Khan Saheb Dehalvi may work and reform. India's raw materials which have been flourishing and reviving the greater part of Europe's industry! India produces each and every necessary thing for our daily use! To end the Excise Department will never be a loss to the Ministry. There are trees of gold and silver on the land of India everywhere! India is called the Pearl of Asia owing to its fertile land, make use of your brain and there is the money for you.—Yours, etc.,

KUTBUDDIN KHAN ROCKY.

Poona, Dec. 21.

HEALTH OF BOMBAY.

During the 51st week of 1923, i.e. the week that ended on the 22nd instant the total mortality 726 was 72 more than in the preceding week; the death-rate registered was 30.94. These figures compare favourably with those for the 51st week of 1922 when the mortality was 751 and death-rate 32.53, and with those for the corresponding weeks during the preceding quinquennium (1918-1922) when the average mortality was 1,000 and death-rate 48.92.

The number of deaths from Influenza during the week was 2 and that from diseases of the Respiratory System 260 as against 1 and 223 respectively in the preceding week. Out of the total deaths, 161 were among infants under one year of age; 24 deaths occurred among recent arrivals from the mofussil who at the time of their death had resided for less than ten days in the City.

Cholera was absent during the week; Small-pox caused 4 attacks and 1 death; Plague caused 2 attacks and 2 deaths. The number of live births registered during the week was 481 as against 478 for the 51st week of 1922 and 434 the quinquennial average for the corresponding weeks in the five years (1918-1922).

BOMBAY CITY AND SUBURBS.

Engagements.

TO-DAY.

Municipal Standing Committee. 1 p.m. (E.T.)

SATURDAY, Dec. 29.

S. S. "Dongola", with English Mails leaves at 2 p.m.

SUNRISE AND SUNSET.

Dec. 27 (Thu.) Sunrise 7h. 10m. Sunset 6h. 2m.
Dec 28 (Fri) Sunrise 7h. 10m; Sunset 6h. 162m.
Dec 29 (Sat) Sunrise 7h. 11m.; Sunset 6h. 163m.
Dec 30 (Sun) Sunrise 7h. 12m: Sunset 6h. 11m.
Dec. 31 (Mon.) Sunrise 7h. 11m. Sunset 6h. 12m.

Domestic Occurrence.

DEATH.

HOLDERSHAW.—Olive Irene, wife of Mr. Thos. Holdershaw, at Masina Hospital, on 26th December, 1923. Funeral will leave the residence at 8 a.m. from Aga Khan's Building, 70, Homjee Street, Fort.

REQUIEM MASS.

There will be a Requiem High Mass for the repose of the soul of the late Mr. Antonio Caetano Mendonca, Manager, Pyrkes Apollo Hotel, on Friday, the 28th instant, at 7-30 a.m., at the Gloria Church, Byculla. 9335

X'MAS DANCE.

The Indo-Portuguese Sporting Club will hold a X'mas Dance in the I. L. I. Hall, Dabul, on Saturday (the 29th instant), at 9-30 p.m.

POSTAL NOTICE.

Mails for Ceylon, the Straits Settlements, China and Japan per s. s. "Meerea" will be closed at the General Post Office at 11-0 a.m. to-morrow (Friday).

STEAMER MOVEMENT.

The P. and O. mail steamer "China" with the mails from Bombay of the 15th instant arrived at Port Said at 1-30 a.m. on the 25th instant and left there at 5-30 a.m. the same day.

AKHILA DRAVIDA RASHTRIYA SANGHA.

The first annual general meeting of the Akhila Dravida Rashtriya Sangha, Bombay, will be held on Sunday, the 30th instant, at the Sangam Khadi Stores, Vishrani Building, Parel, at 5 p.m. All members are requested to attend.

KHADI AND SWADESHI EXHIBITION.

The Khadi and Swadeshi Exhibition of the Girgaon District Congress Committee will be open at the National College (Green Villa, opposite Grant Road Post Office), to-day (Thursday) between 2 and 8 p.m. The goods exhibited include glassware, toys, buttons, inks, paper, pencil, match-boxes, sealing-wax, soaps, etc., besides all varieties of hand-spun and hand-woven cottons and silks.

SWARAJYA SABHA VOLUNTEER CORPS.

A small squad of the above Corps proceeded to Cocanada for the Congress by the Madras Mail last night at the special call received by wire from Mr. Osman Sobani, one of the Hon. Secretaries of the Bombay Provincial Congress Committee.

PROCESSION OF WORKMEN.

A procession of the workmen of the G. I. P. Railway Workshop at Matunga will start to-day (Thursday) in the form of a Labour procession from Parel to go to Girgaum where in the hall of the Marwadi Vidyalaya there will be a public meeting at 6 p.m. (S. T.), to show sympathy for the lot of the distressed men.

CONSERVATOIRE DE MUSIQUE.

For the convenience of pupils, members of the Conservatoire Societies and people desirous of hiring costumes for Fancy Dress Balls, etc., from the Conservatoire's Historical and Theatrical Wardrobe, a branch of the Institution is now open at No. 20, Chowringhee Road, Calcutta, (next to the Picture House).

The Society for the Propagation of French Literature and Language is to be reorganized on and from January, 1924.

The Conservatoire's Library of French Literature is now open to the public.

All communications should be addressed to the Secretary, Conservatoire De Musique, Conservatoire Branch, 20, Chowringhee Road, Calcutta.

MUSLIM WRITERS' ASSOCIATION.

A general meeting of the Muslim Writers' Association was held at Islampura, Bombay, on Sunday (the 23rd instant), when the following office-bearers were elected for the year 1924:—

Mr. M. W. Nazim ("Bombay Chronicle"), Chairman; Mr. S. I. A. Kadiri ("Times of India") and Mr. Jaffer Ali Aseer ("Choudmi Sadi"), Hony. Secretaries; Mr. Azimuddin Nuwadi, Treasurer.

Members of the Managing Committee:—Mr. Nizamudin Koreshi (Editor, "Guzrathi Khilafat"); Mr. Japanwala (Editor, "Memon Mitra"); Mr. Munshi Ebrahim (Editor, "Al Islam"); Mr. A. G. Hamid (Editor, "Al Kamal"); and Mr. M. Fateh Khan (Editor, "Insaf").

LATE SHETH NASSERBHOY ABDOOLABHOY LALLJEE.

We have received the sad news of the death of the well-known Khoja merchant, Sheth Nasserbhoy Abdoolabhoy Lalljee, the son of the veteran President of the Khoja Shia Ashna Ashri Jamat, Sheth Abdoolabhoy Lalljee, and the son-in-law of Sir Ebrahim Rahimtula. Sheth Nassersbhoy died on Tuesday midnight at the age of fifty-eight leaving behind him six sons and a large family to mourn his loss. The deceased was a well-known and leading merchant of this city, and had large business connections with Africa and Arabia, and was much travelled. On account of his liberal and genial nature he had gathered togethor a large circle of friends. By his death not only his large family and a wider circle of friends but the whole Khoja Shia Ashna Ashri Jamat has lost a prominent member. We sympathise with his old father Sheth Abdoolabhoy Lalljee and his father-in-law Sir Ebrahim Rahimtula in their sad bereavement.

The deceased was buried yesterday at Arambaug, near Mazgaon, in the presence of a large gathering of the members of his Jamat, when Sir Mahomed Shafi (Viceroy's Executive Council Member) was also present.

The Molud ceremony will take place to-day at 9 p.m. at his residence in Khoja Moholla and Ziarat ceremony will be performed to-morrow.

ALL-INDIA TRADE UNION CONGRESS.

FOURTH SESSION IN CALCUTTA.

The following Sub-Committee were formed at a meeting of the Working Committee held on Saturday afternoon, December 22, at No. 72, Canning Street:—(1) Finance Sub-Committee, (2) Resolution Sub-Committee, (3) Propaganda Sub-Committee. Among others, an important resolution was passed authorising the Secretary to communicate with the different Railway authorities in India asking for granting concession of fares to the delegates who are coming from the different provinces to attend the next session of the Congress.

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The Bombay Chronicle.
THURSDAY, DECEMBER 27, 1923.
(656th Day of Mahatma's Imprisonment.)

THE SYMBOL OF FREEDOM.

Next to the Mahatma, there is no Indian leader who has more vividly realised the immense potentiality of the Khaddar movement as an instrument of the economic and, therefore, political, emancipation of the country, and done more to foster and consolidate it, than Dr. P. C. Ray. For, there is no leader who has lived among the people, worked among them and understood their needs and the way to satisfy them as Dr. P. C. Ray has done. It is not surprising, therefore, that, to him, of the various items of constructive work, the most important and the most urgent for the economic prosperity of the people is the universal adoption of the Charka—"which even the frailest woman can use and even the poorest can procure or manufacture and repair for themselves, and which would double the average daily income of the Indian proletariat, or if you prefer reckoning in kind, would do away with the peasants' cloth bill altogether and also leave some margin behind." In the address which he delivered on Tuesday while opening the All-India Khadi Exhibition at Cocanada, he boldly and eloquently expressed his faith in the Charka and appealed to his countrymen to recall the glorious past of their land which was rich in industry as well as in agriculture; to realise how, thanks to British rule which subordinated India's economic interest to that of England, it became industrially poorer and poorer until it has now to depend on foreign countries to clothe its people who formerly clothed themselves and a large part of the world—and, realising this, to set about putting their house in order. There is no Indian but wishes his country to be rich again and self-dependent. But how few there are who have given a thought to the right method of bringing about this consummation! Many of them, learned in the economic lore of Europe, have scoffed at the Charka, forgetting the history and the present position of economic and political helplessness of their country. To the scoffers and doubters no less than to the sincere enquirers after the most effective way of remedying the economic evils of the country, we earnestly commend the careful perusal of Dr. P. C. Ray's address.

Dr. Ray's faith in the Khaddar movement is not a sentimental one. It is based on wide experience and careful study of the economic conditions of the people. As he said in his address:

"Even from the argumentation point of view, this sounds convincing enough; but here I can say from personal experience during the organisation of relief-works in connection with the Khulna famine and the North Bengal floods that this is not mere theory but the barest practical truth. Had the ryot an alternative and supplementary means of livelihood to fall back upon, he would not have been at his wit's end for the failure of a single season's crop. And when we have tried to introduce spinning by the supply of Charka and of cotton, the poor peasants, men and women alike, have simply looked upon it as a God-send after observing the actual results."

Taking Lord Curzon's figure of the average income per head in India, namely, Rs. 30, the daily income works out at about an anna and a quarter. If a Charka works eight hours a day, a practised spinner can earn two annas. On a more cautious estimate and reducing the numbers of hours as well as the rate of production, it is not difficult to see that even an anna will mean almost doubling the income. Nor is this all. To quote Dr. Ray again:

"Spinning does not stand by itself; if it is universally adopted as a home-industry, it lends a fillip to and keeps moving a host of other simple village industries. When an entire village takes to Charka, the weaving-loom also becomes brisk; side by side, the dyer, the carpenter also find occupation. In fact, spinning may be regarded as the key industry of village life, the only home-industry *par excellence*, and it goes far towards making the villages self-contained in the matter of our indispensable requirements. The spirit of enterprise, and briskness and self-reliance that such an organisation connotes would soon bring new life into our villages and would prevent them from falling into decay that is at present gradually overtaking them."

In proportion as every village becomes self-dependent for the supply of cloth as it is for the supply of food, the annual drain abroad of sixty to seventy crores of rupees for the purchase of foreign cloth is reduced. Think of the enormous wealth that would thus be India's own to be used for developing her industries, for saving her millions from semi-starvation, for making them healthier, for giving them the light of knowledge! But the wealth that will thus remain in India will not be the wealth which, in modern industrial countries, is a curse to the toiling masses, because it means the enrichment of the few at their expense. We have not merely to stop the drain of money outwards but, profiting from the bitter experience of the West, also to see that that wealth is as widely distributed as possible. "An easy, healthy and natural process of increasing the wealth of the country and a smooth and automatic way of universalising that wealth—that is what the Charkha represents", because it has the power of distributing work and wealth in the simplest way possible. Nor is it an untried instrument of distribution as well as production of wealth, "invented by quacks for the cure of our economic distemper." Dr. Ray quoted chapter and verse to show that the spinning-wheel was not an innovation in India. "It is, on the contrary, perhaps, the longest-standing industry, next to agriculture, in India's history. Not even a century ago, the spinning wheel was the rule and not the exception, in every village household." But, the critics and sceptics ask, is not the Charka a rank economic heresy in these days of steam-driven, electricity-driven, petroleum-driven machineries? Should we replace modern up-to-date time-saving methods by crude and primitive ones? Is not the adoption of such inefficient methods a sheer waste of time which could be better utilised in other ways? Even if it were desirable, is it practicable for the Charka to survive in competition with the mill? Again, were not the spindle and the handloom in vogue in other countries before the Industrial Revolution and died a natural death as instruments of mass-production? And, lastly, is not the vision of snug, little self-contained villages ensconced in their quiet meadows, living by themselves and for themselves, a Utopian one in these days of rapid communication and easy transport, of telegraphs and telephones, of giant ocean-liners and railway trains, airships and motor cars? These and other questions, as Dr. Ray said, are being asked. But those who ask them wholly misconceive the function which the advocates of the Charkha desire it to play in the economic life of the people. The Mahatma has himself thus effectively replied to these questioners:

"Do I want to put back the hand of the clock of progress? Do I want to replace the mills by hand-spinning and hand-weaving? Do I want to replace the railway by the country-cart? Do I want to destroy machinery altogether? These questions have been asked by some journalists and public men. My answer is: I would not weep over the disappearance of machinery or consider it a calamity. But I have no design upon machinery as such. What I want to do at the present moment is to supplement the production of yarn and cloth through our mills, save the millions we send out of India, and distribute them in our cottages. This I cannot do unless and until the nation is prepared to devote its leisure-hours to hand-spinning. I have no quarrel with the mills. My views are invariably simple. India requires nearly 13 yards of cloth per head per year. She produces, I believe, less than half the amount. India grows all the cotton she needs. She exports several million bales of cotton to Japan and Lancashire and receives much of it back in manufactured calico, although she is capable of producing all the cloth and all the yarn necessary for supplying her wants by hand-weaving and hand-spinning. India needs to supplement her main occupation, agriculture, with some other employment. Hand-spinning is the only such employment for millions. It was the national employment a century ago. It is not true to say that economic pressure and modern machinery destroyed hand-spinning and hand-weaving. The great industry was destroyed, or almost destroyed by extraordinary and immoral means adopted by the East India Company. This national industry is capable of being revived by exertion and a change in the national taste, without damaging the mill-industry. If this employment were revived, it would prevent crores of rupees from being annually drained from the country and distribute the amount among lakhs of poor women in their own cottages."

If the Mahatma, with his views on modern industrialism and civilization, declared no "jehad" against the mills, much less could Dr. P. C. Ray, with his antecedents and his contribution to the industrial development of Bengal. The message of Charka is essentially for the peasants and the workers, the "teeming millions" of India, who have got their leisure hours to devote to it and Dr. Ray has seen with his own eyes that this labour, which brings a profit that means a mere pittance to the favoured few, spells to them the difference between semi-starvation and a full meal. The story of the strangling of India's industries in the interests of British manufacturers has often been told. It is the darkest chapter in the history of Britain's connection with India. Dr. Ray quoted the following passage from a British author to bring home the wrong done to India by England:

"We have during the period of a quarter of a century compelled the Indian territories to receive our manufactures, our woollens, duty free, our cotton at 2½ per cent., and other articles in proportion, while we have continued during that period to levy almost prohibitory duties or duties varying from 10 to 20, 30, 50, 100, 500 and 1000 per cent. upon articles, the produce from our territories. Therefore the cry that has taken place for free trade in India has been a free trade from this country, not a free trade between India and this country, ... The decay and destruction of Surat, of Dacca, of Murshidabad and other places where native manufactures have been carried on, is too painful a fact to dwell upon. I do not consider that it has been in the fair course of trade. I think it has been the power of the stronger exercised over the weaker."

The process, in one shape or another, has been continued till the present day. The cotton mill industry has not been the least victim of this policy. But the past cannot be recalled, though the lesson it teaches cannot be ignored; and it is this: that India must help herself. Cotton Mills are not easy to multiply. But it is possible for every Indian to help, in his own way, in making India self-sufficient as regards cloth, by encouraging hand-spinning and hand-weaving. The favoured and educated classes owe a special obligation to their country in this respect. When Dr. Ray asks his educated countrymen to consider if they would, knowing the history of India's impoverishment, still stoop to be clothed at the hands of the same Lancashire in whose interest their country has suffered so far, he does so not in hatred towards Lancashire but out of love for the millions who would get a morsel of food if the educated men would cease to be clothed by foreigners; for their example would filter down and help to make India economically independent and thereby hasten her political emancipation. Is there an Indian who would fail to respond to this patriotic appeal?

A JINGO RETORT.

In one of Oscar Wilde's dramas there is a character who "talks like a Liberal and acts like a Tory", a habit that is useful now-a-days. If Mr. Winston Churchill had been living then, the joke would surely have been understood to be directed against him. For Mr. Winston Churchill is a Tory in almost everything save name and a Liberal in nothing save his lip homage to the principle of free trade. His reply to Mr. H. G. Wells' thoughts on the Empire's future is, therefore, what one expects from an arch-Imperialist of his type. The other day we noticed in these columns an article by Mr. Wells contributed to the "Empire Review" in which Mr. Wells discussed the future lines of development of what is miscalled the British "Empire." For the term "Empire" as applied to the different systems of administration obtaining between Britain, on the one hand, and the self-governing white dominions, India, and the African and Asiatic possessions, on the other, is singularly inept. Mr. Wells with that imaginative boldness which characterises him clearly distinguished between these three types of colonial governments and suggested that while the bond between England and the British communities beyond the seas can and must grow closer, India can have no place in such a racial hegemony and should be allowed to pursue her distinctive cultural traditions in her own way. As for the less advanced populations, they should be administered as a sacred trust by an international body solely for the benefit of the inhabitants of such territories. The British Empire, in a word, must pave the way for its final absorption in a *Pax Mundi* or World Federation and only thus will it justify its existence.

All this, of course, is absolute anathema to Mr. Churchill who replies to Mr. Wells in the current number of the "Empire Review". Mr. Churchill begins by remarking that as "we are living at present in a free country" no one can prevent Mr. Wells from intruding into politics instead of confining his activities to the writing of philosophic romances as Mr. Churchill would like him to do. There is almost a touch of regret in this complaint as though Mr. Churchill would like to be again a minister in the reign of Henry VIII burning heretics at the stake: or perchance would like to go to some less "free" country—India for instance—where by the aid of some obsolete regulations he could intern Mr. Wells as a danger to the peace, safety and tranquillity of the land. But unhappily that is not possible and Mr. Churchill has to content himself with answering Mr. Wells instead of teaching him a lesson for the sake of moral effect! But when a God of Olympus descends to the vulgar plane of reason, how small he looks! As Mr. Churchill cannot *prove* Mr. Wells wrong, his attempt throughout is to ridicule him. Nothing, of course, is so cheap as cynicism—in spite of the fact that there is much competition even in that line to-day. To say that everything is impracticable and "visionary" is simplicity itself. But to sneer at great ideals because they can be but partially realised does not show their weakness. Rather is it a revelation of what lies in those to whom great ideals are a fit object of ridicule. But in pouring scorn upon Mr. Wells' notion of world-federation, Mr. Churchill at times makes some very wild shots. Under your federal body that is to direct the affairs of the whole world, he says mockingly, "we might have to say to Lancashire: 'This is not the place of manufacturing cotton. It has been decided that it is far better to manufacture it in America where it is grown'." But it does not strike Mr. Churchill that that is practically what, under his highly beneficent imperialistic system, every Anglo-Indian Chamber of Commerce tells Indian industrialists every day with this difference: that while, in Mr. Wells' scheme, action would be taken after consultation and the federal body would be based on self-determining and independent units, in Mr. Churchill's scheme of things, decisions are almost always *ex parte*, coercion rather than persuasion being the rule, while the units are often partners not out of willingness but out of weakness. It is remarkable, however, that Mr. Churchill wholly ignores Mr. Wells' criticism of the bureaucratic Government in India. He makes only a passing reference to "our Indian and African possessions and dependencies, on each of which we have lavished the effort and care of generations" (in *their* interests, of course) and which may then be directed by international bodies "until the local population had reached a sufficient stage in their development to enable Mr. Wells to entrust them with the management of their own affairs". This sneer, however, is fatuous since, if words have any meaning, this is precisely what, at least in the case of India, the August Pronouncement seeks to do. Is it that Mr. Churchill hopes to delude subject nations by making them feel happy in a perpetual state of transition to be completed at the pleasure of the holders of vested interests whose anxieties would be eased by keeping the goal charmingly distant? If what Mr. Wells suggests is really the ideal of imperial policy, there is no reason for Mr. Churchill to be so perturbed about Mr. Wells. If not, there is a dangerous discrepancy between promises and practice in the governance of the Empire.

The fact, of course, is that Mr. Churchill does not answer Mr. Wells but merely avoids the vital issue raised by him. That issue raises the fundamental question of the very end of a political society. Does a political community exist to promote the health and moral well-being of the people or to promote power and wealth and glory? Is domination or service a condition of creative politics? Mr. Churchill, after all, belongs to the class of people who, as Mr. Wells said, "are all out for the British Empire whatever it is and whatever it does." We have seen to what a pass its un-moral character has brought European society. To quote Mr. Churchill's own words, used in another connection, "one would have supposed that this terrific disillusion, these hideous realities" would have chastened the spirit of rapacity and domination; that "the spectacle of so much wanton destruction and needless misery" would have induced a more humble attitude among those who seek to impose their civilisations on other peoples and would have induced "a review of mental processes". "After all, a period of wild political welter may be viewed with philosophical complacency through the veil of a hundred years, but it is very unpleasant for the poor little homes and families which have to endure it or perish in it." Wise words, indeed. Would that the pioneers of imperialism or even the present controllers of the imperialistic system remembered them! They, and not Mr. Wells, stand in need of learning these simple truths and of them not the least Mr. Winston S. Churchill who subsidised White terror in Russia, directed the Black-and-Tan campaign in Ireland and was not free from responsibility for the Dardanelles gamble!

Notes of the Day.

Another Sunday Sermon.

While the Committees appointed by the Reparations Commission to consider Germany's capacity to pay and other allied questions have not yet begun to function, M. Poincare has made yet another of his Sunday speeches breathing the very essence of "Christian" spirit. Defending the illegal occupation of the Ruhr, he said that France would not abandon the cardinal principles of her policy, that she insisted on strict adherence to the Treaty and would not agree to any further concession either as regards reparation or security. This means, of course, that whatever the outcome of the deliberations of the Committees now appointed, M. Poincare will continue occupying the Ruhr until he is able to fulfil his original desire of virtually annexing it to France. And this policy, he has the temerity to declare, "benefitted not only the interests of France but the interests of justice and peace." Obviously neither Justice nor Peace will triumph in Europe so long as M. Poincare continues in office in France.

The Wrong Remedy.

In commenting on Mr. Das' reply to Lord Lytton and the resolutions passed by his party in Bengal we pointed to the danger involved in the exclusive emphasis on the need for ending diarchy. The declared aim of the Council section of Congressmen as of other Congressmen is not merely to secure "provincial responsible Government," but Swaraj and nothing less than Swaraj. Lala Lajpat rai in his criticism of Mr. Das' reply and the resolutions of the Bengal Swarajists also notes the danger and rightly characterises the latter as savouring of provincialism and virtually destroying the solidarity of the party. But the remedy suggested by him, namely, that the only feasible course now is that for Council work each province must be left to itself, the Central Swaraj Council guiding only the Swarajists in the Assembly, is hardly the right one and such as is calculated to preserve the solidarity of the party. If the party is to be saved from degenerating into "responsive co-operation" it must sternly discipline itself against any compromise, however alluring, not merely in the Legislative Assembly but also in the provincial Councils.

The Liberals and Khaddar.

We note with great pleasure that among the resolutions which the Ahmednagar Liberal League has suggested for adoption by the National Liberal Federation, which is holding its session in Poona, is one which urges all Indians to use Swadeshi cloth, especially Khaddar, to effect a solution of the economic problem of India. The Liberals have so far contented themselves with paying lip-homage to Swadeshi and, as for Khaddar, as the emblem of the hated Non-co-operation movement, no words have been too strong to deride and discredit the efforts to popularise it. But Khaddar has outlived ridicule and it is no small tribute to the success of the Khaddar movement as a solution of India's economic problem that it has gained adherence among those who scoffed at its possibilities.

NON-VIOLENT BORSAD.

TOWN OBSERVING FAST FOR OBSTRUCTING A CART.

WORK OF ATTACHMENT GOING ON.

VILLAGE SERVANTS REFUSE TO CO-OPERATE.

(BY OUR SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE)

BORSAD, Dec. 24.

Hundreds of people fasted on Monday as a mark of repentance for a small crowd of people obstructing the course of a Cart going to a neighbouring village to fetch attachment articles. The leaders with the object of nipping in the bud all violent tendencies, exhorted the people on Sunday night to undertake a day's fast and thus repent for the folly of a few young and misled zealots.

The attachment work is going on and people proceed with their usual work as absolutely unconcerned as they are resolute.

(By our Special Representative.)

BORSAD, Dec. 24.

As I mentioned in the previous report the Borsad Satyagrah, and particularly the *zabti* part of it, has its comic side which has been most evident during the last two days. *Zabti* is in full swing and fertile brains are at work to invent devices for bringing to bay the *zabti* officers who go the length of breaking open cash boxes. I have already told the story of a cash box which contained a few false coins covered by a copy of the "Nav Jivan" which exhorted the people to resist the Head-tax in an absolutely non-violent manner. The Mamlatdar and a Foujdar, who subsequently sympathised with the Mamlatdar, owned that the shopkeeper was a match for them. Had they taken the trouble of breaking open more cash boxes the Mamlatdar would have been surprised to find quite funny things. A Bohra gentleman (and Bohras beat anybody else in an Indian village market in artfulness and humour) told me in confidence that two big stones were waiting for Mr. Vali Baksh in his cash box: while there was a Khadi-clad Hindu who had kept a small image of Mahatmaji to greet the *zabti* officer. It should be said to the credit of these officers that they are keeping their heads and without being ruffled, as was the case with them in several villages, are getting on quietly with their work, of course convinced that failure stares them in the face.

AN M.L.C.'S MIRROR ATTACHED.

Yesterday attachment went on and Mr. Dhanabhai Patel, a Swarajist M.L.C. from Kaira, was among the victims. A big mirror from his house was attached and Mr. Dhanabhai, in appreciation of the Satyagrah Samittee work, has donated his share of Police tax to the Satyagrah funds.

EMBARRASSING SITUATION.

An embarrassing situation is developing for the officers. The people have been so deeply imbued with the Satyagraha spirit that there are examples of a score of Ravanias or village servants who have either resigned or given the officers point-blank to understand that they will not help them in the injust Poll-tax collection business. To all those who know how meek and servile a village Ravania is this will be a surprise. But in these days of no-taxation and satyagraha there are so many surprises that it must be taken as an inevitable sign of the times. Not only have the Ravanias refused to work but also the members of the Punitive Police themselves have not seldom expressed their disgust for the work. I know of an incident that happened in the town on Saturday. A big brass pot was secured in attachment by the officers and two policemen were directed to keep it in the car, which was specially requisitioned as no cart or cart driver could be induced to work for the *zabti* officers. The policemen, directly the officers turned their back on them, left the place and the pot remained waiting there till some officer got it carried under his own supervision. The motor-car which was used for carrying luggage, I was told, bore no number and was driven by a man without a license. The newly created chauffeur is said to have injured three children in the haste he made to please his new masters or which was perhaps the result of his ignorance of motor driving. I am told that luggage is lying in heaps in the Police Chowkies of various villages for the lack of carting, as no carts are obtained and if carts are secured there is no-one to drive them.

BORSAD FASTING.

I must not fail here to mention a small incident for which the people of the town have been sharply rebuked and exhorted to observe a fast of 24 hours. A cart was purchased by the officers from some distant place and was being sent to a village called Vera for fetching luggage obtained by attachment. Some young and illiterate enthusiasts, coming to know of this, went to the place, got the cart unyoked and told the cartmen not to drive it. Information was immediately brought to the Satyagrah Camp and Mr. Mohanlal Pandya was asked to go and disperse the crowd and warn them against obstructing the road against the cart driver. This incident has much perturbed the Darbar Saheb who had a meeting of the townspeople arranged that night. What the Durbar Saheb feared, and rightly, was that the incident, though trivial, was significant in that it might lead to worse behaviour on some other occasion, and that the people might get out of hand. At the meeting which was held yesterday before a huge audience the Durbar Saheb made a touching plea for absolute peace, quiet and non-violence. The effect of such an appeal can be imagined only by those who know the awe and reverence which Durbar Gopaldas inspires in the town and the taluka. In a manner which moved not a few to tears, he said, "Do you want me, Mr. Vallabhbhai, Mr. Pandya and scores of volunteers who have come down to your town to work for you or do you want us to walk away, bag and baggage, giving you a certificate that you are no good to fight the great battle? The incident that happened to-day was to me a serious one. I, as one responsible for the struggle, must take it as a straw showing which way the wind is blowing. I want to remain with you and to shoulder the responsibility so long as you remain non-violent and peaceful. For the sin of obstructing the Government cart I have begun to observe fast from to-day for 48 hours and I ask those of you who believe with me that the victory in this struggle depends entirely on our strength of non-violence to observe a day's fast to-morrow." While writing I learn that the town is observing fast to-day. Mr. Gopaldas was followed by Mr Mohanlal Pandya who in a spirited exhortation bede people not to collect in crowds while attachments took place.

REPORTS FROM VILLAGES.

Reports from villages are encouraging and the officers have not spared even the untouchables from the *zabti* trouble. At Napad vessels were carried away as attachment articles from the huts of two Dheds. Those are trying days also for the Collector and on Saturday he visited Gana at the request of a Missionary "father" and released the articles obtained from the Dheds and Chamars of that place. The following conversation which took place between the Collector and some villagers offers points of interest:—

Collector: I do not mean to harass the poor and those of the backward classes.

Villager: Then there will be no *zabti* at the houses of the Dharalas and Vagharis.

Collector: I can't say anything definitely. You are responsible for instigating the people of the backward classes; and that is why they go out of hand and take to dacoities.

Villager: No, sir. It is not so. We do not know anything about the dacoits and so can't be charged with withholding information from you. Those who have informed the Police have lost their lives.

Thus the conversation lasted till the collector departed.

VOLUNTEERS.

The most striking feature of the Borsad Satyagrah is the selflessness and devoted zeal of the volunteers who have come here from all parts of Gujarat. A larger influx of them is expected after the Congress session, as also of the leaders. I have around me in the Camp a number of volunteers coming every day from outlying villages where they are posted for the propaganda work and where they have endeared themselves to the villagers by their simple habits and usefulness. It is noteworthy that most of the volunteers working for the Borsad Satyagrah campaign are those who took part in the Nagpur Flag Satyagrah movement. The jail discipline and rigour has helped to fit them for the work here. Many of them are highly educated, a considerable proportion of them being graduates of the Bombay University. Even those villages which are known for harbouring violent and excited men have been tamed down by workers of such sound mentality. The Durbar Saheb related to me last night some details of the excellent work of Mr. Ravishankar who is on duty at Ras. Ras and its neighbouring villages are notorious for the high percentage of crime. Cases of murder and arson are not uncommon there. But such a wonderful hold has Mr. Ravishankar obtained over the people that he is confident that in a few week's time all traces of crime will disappear from the locality and all instruments for committing violence such as *dharias* will be reduced to ashes. Mr. Lallubhai Lakhmidas, a Satyagrahi who was sentenced at Nagpur, is a graduate and worked as a member of the Charotar Education Society. Gandhiji's movement captivated him and he is the indefatigable Secretary of the Satyagrahi Committee here, busy from early morning to late at night, directing volunteers, issuing and drafting bulletins, correcting proofs and so forth. Then there is Mr. Shivabhai, Secretary of the local Congress Committee who gave up his studies from the Commerce College of Bombay for village organisation work and now there is hardly a meeting in Borsad which does not resound with the fine voice Mr. Shivabhai Patel. Then there are the familiar figures of Mr. Raojibhai Manibhai, a worker with Mahatmaji in South Africa, Mr. Fulchand Shah, now posted at Anklav, Mr. Maganlal Chaturbhai of Vaso, Mr. Chhotalal Vyas of Anand and the feeble-looking, but vigorously working, assistant of Mr. Lallubhai, Mr. Chunibhai Patel. These devoted workers think hardly for a minute about their personal affairs but rising early in the morning, recite the favourite songs of Mahatmaji and get to work with faith discarding all worldly considerations. The Swaraj Asram of Borsad is but an epitome of the Satyagrah Asram of Sabarmati where Mahatmaji would be only too happy to dwell.

The work of these volunteers is not merely to ask the people not to pay the Poll-tax. He who judges of their work only with reference to Punitive Police imposition does them gross injustice. They are Khadi hawkers, school teachers, propagandists, workers in the cause of the abolition of untouchability and not seldom preside over Arbitration Courts. The Government Records will testify to the decrease in crime during the last month as a result of the activities of the volunteers. The sale of Khadi has tremendously increased and the Durbar Saheb is thinking of replacing the old method of supply of Khadi by a new one of immediate provision at all centres with whole-time hawkers. I shall refer in my next report to the serious implications of the struggle, and to the sound village organisation work carried on in Borsad.

GREEK MONARCHY.

REVOLUTIONARIES DETERMINED ON ABOLITION.

VENIZELOS RETURNS ON JANUARY 2ND.

LONDON, Dec. 24.

Athens.—It is understood that the revolutionary authorities in their invitation to M. Venizelos for his return to Greece state that the fall of the dynasty must be considered as a definite solution of the constitutional question and that the return of Venizelos would depend on his recognition of the accomplished fact.

Colonel Gonatas has resigned the Premiership.

LATER

Venizelos has intimated that he will return to Athens on the second of January. He does not intend to form a Cabinet. His only object is to restore normal conditions.—Reuter.

FATE OF "DIXMUDE."

REPORTED SAFE FROM DANGER.

LONDON, Dec. 24.

Toulon.—The latest message from the "Dixmude" says that it is being driven by a strong wind towards the west of Tatahouin and reports that the airship has sufficient petrol to enable it to keep aloft and choose a landing place when the conditions are safe.—Reuter.

A NEW BRITISH SUBMARINE.

LONDON, Dec. 24.

The new British submarine "X. J" has returned to Chatham after severe tests in secret trial lasting thirty-eight hours in the Channel. "X. J" is the world's largest and fastest submarine with displacement of 3,300 tons. She can do thirty-three knots. She carries six 5.5 guns and a crew of one hundred. She will be commissioned early in the new year and is designed for convoy chasing.—Reuter.

"COLLECTION OF IMPOST WILL GO ON."

MEDDLING BY 'OUTSIDE PEOPLE."

(ASSOCIATED PRESS.)

BOMBAY, Dec. 26.

The following is communicated to us for publication:—

"Enquiries made in official circles, yesterday, regarding the Satyagraha campaign show that the collection of the levy for additional police is going on, and that the usual distraint proceedings are being taken where the person liable refuses to pay the levy. The formal orders for the recovery of the tax were issued on November 18th, but for over a month before that the people of the Taluka were aware that the impost would be levied, and at that date there was apparently no expressed intention of any general refusal to pay it. The Borsad Mahajans, for example, in an interview with the Collector early in October conceded the reasonableness of the impost and only represented that they should not be taxed at a higher rate than that levied from the other people of the Taluka. Obviously, the tax was not popular, but the arrival of the additional police undoubtedly was. There was a general feeling of relief and security, and people who had left their residences through terror of the dacoits returned. Cerain Banias of Bhatasha may be quoted as an instance. Moreover evidence and information began to come in to the police regarding the outlaws and there was good reason to hope that the arrest of the principal offenders and the stamping out of organised crime in the Taluka would be accomplished more quickly than was originally expected. It was not until after the Conference held at Borsad, on December 2nd and addressed by people from outside the Taluka that the people of Borsad were induced actively to resist the impost assisted by an organisation set up for the purpose. Many of the workers are not of course, Borsad people at all. One of the lecturers for example who is devoting his attention to the Mahomedan population is an Arab gentleman from Baghdad who has been living at Sabarmati. Effective use, too, is being made of the weapon of social boycott in order to induce the villagers no to pay. It is, however, understood that the collection of the impost will go on."

"HASTY OPPORTUNISM."

BENGAL PACT LACKING IN STATESMANSHIP.

LAJPATRAI CRITICISES DAS

(FROM A CORRESPONDENT.)

KARACHI, Dec. 25.

In a staement to the press Lala Lajpatrai criticises in detail Mr. Das's reply to Lord Lytton and the Bengal Swarajist resolution. He believes that an unhesitating "no" could have been the only reply to Lord Lytton but consultation, if necessary, could only have been based on All-India considerations and the Central Swaraj Council alone was competent for it. He thinks Mr. Das's action was antagonistic in spirit to the principles of Non-co-operation and of the Swaraj Party and has virtually destroyed Swarajist solidarity.

Lalaji also takes exception to Mr. Das's having laid a rather exclusive stress in his letter on the ending of Dyarchy by using legal rights. Lalaji argues that the Congress and Swarajists aim at Swaraj in India, not at ending Dyarchy in Bengal. In his opinion, Swarajists should have declined office solely because of their creed.

"HASTY OPPORTUNISM."

Lala Lajpatrai characterizes the resolutions as slipshod and reflecting hasty opportunism throughout. He objects strongly to the pact, as an All-India pact was being drafted in accordance with a Congress resolution. He also thinks that such a pact was outside the competence of the Swarajists alone, that Provincial pacts by preceding the National Pact only create difficulties for the latter, that a mere Hindu-Muslim pact it not a national pact, that making services rest on purely communal bases is anything but sound nationalism and that the forty to sixty ratio on local bodies ignores all the principles of representative Government. He further objects the pact lays no time limit and makes the realization of Indian unity impossible. Prohibition of music before mosques at all times is denounced by him as tyrannous. Lalaji believes, with the present atmosphere of conflict, the pact will surely be rejected by all non-Moslems and serve only to accentuate communal differences. He thinks the document lacks regrettably in forethought and statesmanship.

PROVINCIALISM.

In his opinion, the resolution for Council work puts the entire emphasis on effective provincial responsible Government, and he asks if Bengal Swarajists will contentedly accept office if Bengal alone is granted provincial autonomy. Lalaji concludes that the affair savours of provincialism and that Mr. Das can no longer prevent other provinces from putting their own interpretations on obstruction. In his opinion the only feasible course now is that for Council work each province be left to itself, the Central Swaraj Council guiding only the Swarajists in the Assembly.

NATIONAL LIBERAL FADERATION.

SIXTH SESSION BEGINS.

(ASSOCIATED PRESS.)

POONA, Dec. 26.

The sixth session of the National Liberal Federation of India began this afternoon at 3 p.m. in a specially erected pandal on the Gokhale Hall grounds. The pandal was tastefully decorated and was packed by delegates and visitors. The President on arrival was received at the entrance by the Chairman, Vice Chairman and Secretaries to the Reception Committee, and was conducted to the dais in a procession, the whole assembly standing as the procession passed.

The proceedings began with the singing of the national and welcome songs after which Dewan Bahadur Godbole, Chairman of the Reception Committee read his welcome address Dr. Paranjpye then formally proposed the election of Dr. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru to the chair and the proposal was seconded by Mr. G. A. Natesan and supported by Mr. A P. Sen and Mr. S. M. Chitnavis. The President was then garlanded and installed into the presidential chair. He then read his inaugural address which lasted for over an hour.

Messages wishing success to the Conference were then read to the meeting by Mr. Ambekar, one of the secretaries. Prominent among those who sent such messages were Sir Dinshaw Wachha, Sir Hormasji Wadya, Sir Surendranath Banerjee, Mr. Chintamani, Sir Sivaswamy Iyer, Sir Cowasji Das Parekh, Sir Chimanlal Setalvad, Hon'ble Rao Bahadur Patro, Mr. Samarth, Sir Benode Mitter, Sir M. V. Joshi, Hon'ble Mr. Mehta, Prof. Galshanrai, Munshi Narayan Prasad, Rai Krishnaji, Rao Bahadur Mahajan Rai Anandswarup Bahadur, Mr. Iskwardas Laxmidas, Sivaganga Rangaswamiengar, Sirdar V. M. Mitalk M.L.A., Pandit Gokarnath Misra, Sir Devaprasad Sarvadhikary and Hon'ble Rao Bahadur Jadhav who said he was generally in sympathy with the Liberal principles.

Among those who attended from other provinces were Mr. Venkatarama Sastri, Mr. Kalandavelu Mudliar, Mr. Sarvattamrao from Calicut, Mr. Gurtu, Mr. Krishnaram Mehta, Right Hon'ble Sastri, Mr. Jayawant, Rao Bahadur Dhablay, Mr. Dravid, Rao Bahadur Mundle, Mr. Rodrigues and many others

The Federation session commences tomorrow at 12 midday.

[illegible]

Their Excellencies were present at the Races on Wednesday afternoon.

Her Excellency accompanied by Major N. G. Vaux, Military Secretary, left Bombay for Mahableshwar on Wednesday evening.

The Governor and Lady Wheeler returned to Patna from Orissa Tour on December 23rd.

His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief arrived Calcutta from Santahar on Monday

"OUTLAWS OF BORSAD."

GOVERNMENT'S REPLY EXAMINED

MESSRS. VALLABHBHAI AND DESAI'S STATEMENT.

TO THE EDITOR OF "THE CHRONICLE."

Sir,—We congratulate you for having compelled Government to take you in their confidence about their case regarding 'lawlessness in Borsad.' But we feel bound to raise our protest against the way in which the Government have tried to throw dust in the eyes of the public, and we must make our charge against them absolutely clear.

2. Mr. Gennings refers to so called "confidential official documents improperly and illegally obtained" by one of us. We can only assure you that those documents, however, "confidential" they may be, were the most relevant ones in the case—even more relevant than the formidable array of those with which the Director of Information has endeavoured to enlighten you—and we should have failed in our duty if we had not exposed the hollowness of the Government case as revealed by admissions of their own officers. We are, however, in a position to show that the documents that the Director of Information has ventured to publish believing them to be harmless also help to give away the whole Government case.

3. We may accept that the Superintendent of Police who has signed the impressive document on which the Director of Information relies, is an officer with a distinguished record. But we are afraid the record was won by him elsewhere than on the field of Kaira, and he has not been long enough to give evidence of that record except perhaps in the preparation of that document of 77 paragraphs—a document based on the reports of officers who were solely responsible for the maladministration of the past several years. We do not know the order that he and his gallant band have restored, but if any it is due to a variety of causes for which Government can take no credit whatsoever. One of them is the capture of the dacoit Alia which we make bold to say was not due to the bravery of the police, and another is the capture of Mirkhan by Baroda State Police. A third reason is the posting of the Satyagraha Volunteers in the Taluka which has gone a great way to relieve the distress. But any relief or restoration of order for which the Government can take any credit is more than counterbalanced by the disorder and misery caused by the punitive police imposed on the Taluka, and the abnormal concentration of police force in one part of the District has rendered other parts insecure.

4. We see that the Director of Information has accepted the charge of inefficiency of the Police, but has tried to make it out as the result entirely of the lack of will on the people's part to support the Police and of the lack of courage to help themselves. A study of the report of the Superintendent of Police will demonstrate the utter worthlessness of the excuse. It should be observed that the report relates to the whole district and no less than a score or more of the cases described are of events that happened in Talukas other than Borsad. We shall only point out the numerous instances in which the people have not only tried to help the police, but have risked and lost their lives:

(1) Para 6 D. S. P.'s Report. The unfortunate man who was crucified to a tree and riddled with bullets was an informer.

(2) Para 7. "The murder in the case was the outcome of assistance rendered to the Police by the deceased men's family."

(3) Para 9. "A Mahomedan who had given evidence against dacoits" was attacked and left with his nose severed.

(4) Para 10. "The deceased was a witness in a murder case."

(5) Para 12. Babar shot Bakore in cold blood suspecting him of being in league with the Police.

(6) Para 13. At village Bedwa the dacoits met with resistance, they fired at the villagers, killing two.

(7) Para 14. A Patidar Villager who had the 'temerity to oppose the dacoits' was stabbed with a knife.

(8) Para 18. Babar Deva murdered a Police informer at Banejda.

(9) Para 29. Four villages, all in Borsad Taluka were raided by dacoits armed with deadly weapons, but the "raiders decamped." (Surely not out of good will, but because they saw that discretion was the better part of valour).

(10) Para 32. "The people having collected two shots were fired." (Did they collect there to witness a *tamasha*?)

(11) Para 34. Four villages were raided, but there was only one case of assault and one of extortion.

(12) Para 37. "A tailor opposed the dacoits and as a result of his temerity received several wounds."

13) Para 37. Babar wreaked vengeance on a Police informer who was brutally wounded.

(13) Para 58. A potter was cruelly stabbed in his chest.) Surely not because he was rich but because he was either an informer or because he dared to offer resistance.

(15) Para 60. Suspected informers done to death.

(16) Para 61. The villagers of Sunave "turned out and followed" Babar Deva.

(17) Para 71. Three vegetable sellers were attacked and shot dead. (Certainly not because their treasuries were full.) Now there are several points worth noting regarding these cases. (a) They are taken from a report specially prepared to make out a case for the imposition of punitive Police, and which takes no count of the numerous people who furnished information or dared to resist the dacoits and laid down their lives. (b) It also takes no count of cases in which information was given to police without any subsequent action by the police. (c) It takes no count of cases cited by the Director of Information in his letters as special correspondent to the "Times of India" in October last. The people have dared to give information inspite of the fact that "Babar swears vengeance against his informants," and "it is stated that his hatred against police informers is so intense that he does not spare even his nearest relatives." Reference is made therein to the way in which Babar Deva murdered his mother and his uncle whom he suspected of having given information against him.

It is the Taluka of Borsad which was the scene of these deeds of daring which the Commissioner of the Division describes as one in "which the failure on the part of the people at large to give information or co-operation to the police has been conspicuous." If the record given above is one of "demoralisation" and "lack of courage" and "lack of will to help" a fresh dictionary will have to be issued by the Director of Information.

To these records of brave resistance we shall only add the cases of scores of villages which have out of their own strength remained immune from the attacks of dacoits and marauders and which because of the organised defence they are capable of putting up wish that they were free from the scourge of the punitive Police, and even of the assistance of the ordinary police which claims to afford them protection.

In concluding this paragraph we shall only make a passing reference to the plea of the Director of Information that the people should have been capable of greater resistance because of the "lethal weapons" that the villagers have always ready to hand. What shall we say regarding the prowess of the policemen who inspite of their swords and guns have not been able to capture dacoits who escaped in one instance because it was dark, or in another because the way lay through surrounding fields and standing crops, whilst the poor villagers were fighting. For all they were worth with their "lethal weapons" against dacoits armed with "guns, dharias, bows and arrows!"

5. But the Director of Information would even acquit the people of the charge of deliberate failure to inform the Police, if his Government can find the wherewithal to pay for the cost of the punitive police. "The *only question*" says he, "is whether the police forces should be paid for "by the public of the whole Presidency or by the inhabitants of the small tract whose lawlessness had rendered them necessary." The only question is not that. The only question is whether a people should be condemned unheard, whether the character of a vast majority of the peaceful inhabitants of a taluka should be so shamelessly impugned: The only question is whether a Government that admits (para 3 of D.S.P.'s report) that the continued success of the dacoits' depredations has "completely cowed down the law abiding sections of the district" can conscionably punish the section cowed down.

6. But we have touched only the points raised by the Director of Information's reply. Whilst he has questioned our right to publish certain damaging documents he is indifferent to the most serious charges that we have made against them. Why is it that whilst so many informers have been shot or murdered, in cold blood, no police has been touched? Why is it that inspite of so many informants having been murdered, the Police upto a few days ago failed to capture the arch dacoits? The charge of the public against Government is that they allied with a dacoit who was known to be a murderer provided him with arms and ammunition and allowed him to go unchecked on his career of murder and loot. They have come to believe that all cooperation with such a department of police was futile.

The Government have been culpably indifferent to the charge we have noted above. Whilst all the documents—published and unpublished—are contrived to throw the whole blame on one dacoit Babar Deva and on the socalled "demoralised" public, no mention is made of that miscreant Alia in any one of these reports though his career of crimes has been no less dastardly than his brother dacoit. It is we repeat with all the emphasis that we command a guilty silence. The last, though not the least charge, which has also been left unanswered, is that the Government imposed the police, knowing that it was useless to do so, and that the public did not need it. The District Magistrate in his letter No. 184, 13th April 1923,—one of the 'confidential documents' we have 'illegally' obtained—was emphatically of opinion that "the contingence of the additional police is not desirable in either of the Villages," that "the police parties never move out of the village, and their presence does not reduce the number of men otherwise required for the police of the Taluka," that they do not even serve the purpose of preventing crime, as the murder of Shibhai in Jogan in day light proves, to say nothing of the attack made on the similar police parties in Golal." He also frankly confessed that from the application I have received and from the statements of a deputation of the non Dharala residents of Jogan who recently came to see me, it appears that they do not need such protection (i.e. the protection of the punitive police), and "would much prefer to be without the police altogether than to have to pay for them."

7. The question then, the public will ask, is where shall we fix the responsibility for the general state of criminality in the District—we are here concerned with that in the Taluka, and what has been done to remedy it. We have not the slightest doubt that the Government have to thank themselves for it, that they are reaping what they have so sedulously sown. They have chosen to fix the label of 'criminal' on a virile, industrious

(Continued on page 8.)

AFTER COCANADA.

BY P R. LELE.

I.

Those who counsel the continuance of the spirit of the Delhi Compromise Resolution are not able to think of the differences between the Swarajists and the no-changers as being fundamental in any sense. The two processes of action proposed to be followed by the two parties are essentially divergent. The difference over the Councils is sought in some quarters to be treated as what may in Swiftian phrase be called an affair of Little Indians and Big Indians whereas the truth is that far from being trivial and little it goes to the very root of our respective principles."

This is a quotation from the illuminating notes contained in "Young India" of 20th December and reproduced in the Chronicle of 24th instant. These are lucid, pregnant and emphatic words and I should have adopted them but for the presence of "Swarajists" and "No-changers." In using these two terms the editor has shown that deliberate naivette (if there can be such a thing which has characterised Mr. Rajagopalachar's conduct ever since he came out of jail and accepted to work on that calamity which was graced with the title "Civil Disobedience Inquiry Committee." Mr. Rajagopalachar's downward career set in with that action. At the end of May last, we thought he had made up his mind to stick to his elevation. But he returned to his downward career at an attack made by an opponent who charged him with "avarice of power." He took "furlough" and brought about mental anarchy and moral paralysis in the party behind him, which he has to be suffered to malign with the epithet and title "No-changers." The "Chronicle" has done well to point out the wrongness of this title as applied to that class of Indians who stand for the greatest amount of change both in respect of the ideal as well as method. If between the class that stands behind Mr. Das and the class behind Mr. Rajagopalachar, one deserves the title "No-changer" more than the other, it is the former viz. the Das Party or the Council Party. If, on the other hand the class has to be selected which does not deserve the title "Swarajists" it is again the Dasites. To attain Swaraj is specifically the creed of the Indian National Congress. "Congressman" and "Swarajist" are synonymous terms and no section in the Congress can arrogate that title of which—by the bye—the parenthood is claimed by Mr. Jinnah who himself thought it below his dignity to join the party, in spite of his having been its godfather. 'A fortiori' it cannot be arrogated by a party the leader of which is willing to form the ministry of Bengal in case full provincial responsible Government (which every tyro knows to be far short of Swaraj) is promised, —a course condemned even by the proconncil daily journal "The Voice of India" and by a responsive co-operator like Mr. Natrajan. With a sense of martyrdom, Mr. Rajagopalachar accepts both these wrong titles, allows his men to be abused with himself and when a shaft from the opponent ranks hits him, throws up the place of leadership in which he worked for months and months. Mr. Rajagopalachar never sought leadership but was sought by leadership. Having served as a leader (the word "served" has been deliberately used, because Mr. Rajagopalachar never bossed or bullied) for many months, he could not renounce the leadership at his will. Far from his being guilty of "avarice of power," we wish he did posses some "avarice of power." Had he possessed it in a moderate measure, he would have known that even humility is conditioned by responsibility of leadership.

All this disquisition has been necessitated by the gulf that exists between Mr. Rajagopalachar the individual and Mr. Rajgopalachar the leader. He thinks boldly and writes lucidly. That is his individual capacity. In his own conduct he is equally bold and determined. As a leader, as the man at the helm he has not shown any of these qualities. The notes abovementioned say elsewhere: "The Congress must declare for a bold and straight policy and should summon up the courage necessary to carry it out whatever the forces of the opposition ranged against it'." (The italics are mine and the italicised sentence is the justification of the heading of this article intended to be published before Cocanada.) The first part of this sentence concerns Cocanada and delegates assembled. The second part concerns "after" Cocanada and will principally require conrageous, singleminded and irrepressible leadership. The Congress is to declare something either by a unanimous vote or by a majority vote. Generally the decisions are by a majority vote and on controversial questions necessarily by a majority vote. The question of association with or dissociation from legislative bodies is essentially a controversial question and the decision of that question is bound to be by a majority vote. In the second part, therefore, the Congress means the majority. It is the deciding majority that is required to possess and summon courage and steadfastness. This truth has been clouded of late. The tall and idle talk of unity or, to be more correct, unanimity has clouded this essential attribute of elective bodies from the vision of people. The mandate theory was never accepted by Mahatma and even Lokamanya restricted the mandate theory to the executive. But the love of inexact thinking and nebulous expression amplified this theory so as to impose and require "unanimity." It is time to shake off that illusion and realise that the responsibility of enforcing or carrying out any decision lies on the shoulders of the majority which has to be distinguished for practical purposes from the Congress. The minority may have the right to act in the name of the Congress but it is the majority that is to act. And for acting efficiently, there must be a general who will train if necessary and lead the majority unflinchingly "whatever the forces of opposition ranged against it" and whatever sort of means including the imputation of "the avarice of power" are used by the opposition or even by the so-called neutrals. In case the majority of delegates at Cocanada answer in favour of the party for which Mr. Rajagopalachar stands, is Mr. Rajagopalachar prepared to give up everything else and lead the carrying out of that answer? That is the question, on the answer to which everything depends. There are only two outstanding names in the construction party (1) Mahomed Ali (2) Rajagopalachar. The former is not anxious to raise the Council controversy again at Cocanada. Therefore only Mr. Rajagopalachar remains. The question put above is thus the right question and we ask the answer.

Here is the great defect of the Construction party, by which I mean those who are defamed as "No-changers." Mr. Rajagopalachar betrayed his cause twice besides the latest occasion. The first occasion arose after Bardoli and the second after Gaya. At Bardoli was decided under the leadership of Mahatma what is known as the "Constructive Programme" which contained two unequivocal resolutions. The first was that the country was not ready for any aggressive campaign of Civil Disobedience. The second was that the constructive programme was the only way to prepare the country for such Civil Disobedience. When Government found that Mahatma meant business, they jailed him. As soon as he was gaoled, the discontented elements, who always were present even under the envelop of unanimity which Mahatma could spread, broke loose and hammered at the dead wall of unanimity. (the wording is borrowed from the speech of a new M.L.C.) Gentlemen, who rushed to smother Mahatma with their warm embraces and affectionate regards immediately after the Bardoli decision, joined hands with these malcontents with whom they had only one thing in common viz. the love to enter Councils. The appointment of the Civil Disobedience Inquiry Committee was forced through the All-India Congress Committee by this joint onslaught and the inanity of certain others. Mrs. Naidu was one of the members but fell ill and could not work. The vacant seat was offered to Mr. Rajagopalachar who had shortly before come out of jail. Ready to face any amount of suffering and ever anxious to serve, he accepted the invitation to sit on that prancing Committee the rootcause of all the later ills. This acceptance was the first step on the downward career of Mr. Rajagopalachar. In his anxiety to be reasonable, he failed to reason with himself. As to-day he fails to understand the full import of the cry "Back to Nagpur," he failed at that time to understand the full import of the appointment of the C. D. Committee and of his acceptance of a seat on it. The appointment of that Committee was a tacit revocation of the Bardoli decission which was affirmed by the A. I. C. C. at Delhi. The country was not ready for Civil Disobelience and the only way to prepare the country for it was the "Constructive Programme." These two matters were decided. The time to appoint a C.D. Inquiry Committee would have come after some months of working the "Constructive Programme." Not a day was devoted to it and a Committee was appointed. Such an appointment was clearly an attempt to get round "Bardoli." Mr. Rajagopalachar did not care to see this meaning and pranced about the whole peninsula. The question about entry into the Councils was beyond the scope of that Committee but the Committee devoted the major part of its time to it. Mr. Rajagopalachar did neither get out of the Committee nor did he even protest against it at the very inception. He showed by this action that he was not steadfast and that he would go headlong at other's suggestion.

In spite of the activities of the Councilites which were directly helped by the roaming C. D. Committee, Mahatma's followers stood firm. They did not lack faith, grit or endurance. The rank and file is everywhere mute and cannot protest against slurs cast on them for their alleged unpreparedness. But allowing a long period of inactivity—some deliberately did so—the leaders did all they could to demoralise the rank and file. But Mahatma's teaching had taken firm root in the minds of the rank and file. They stood their ground and supported at Gaya the one man who, in their opinion, held Mahatma's flag. The "Young India" asks a declaration for a bold and straight policy. Could a bolder and straighter declaration be conceived than the Congress made at Gaya? The rank and file who were firm in their faith in Gandhi and were still ready, even in Mahatma's absence, to undergo suffering and to undertake risks at the word of Gandhi's lieutenants, carried every proposition moved by Mr. Rajagopalachar. No general could expect a clearer pronouncement that Mr. Rajagopalachar got in his favour at Gaya. The boldest and straightest declaration was made and the rank and file had the courage necessary to carry it out whatever the forces of the opposition ranged against. Who was to summon it, to lead it and to put it into action? That was the duty—not merely privilege, not avarice of power—of the general in whose favour the humble followers of Mahatma made the boldest and straightest declaration. Did Mr. Rajagopalachar perform that duty?

The answer is that he failed those humble men who stood behind him. The ink was hardly dry on the resolution paper of the Gaya Congress, when those who made an imposing show during the season went into a conclave to devise measures how to unwrite the bold and straight declaration or at least how to make it a dead letter and Mr. Rajagopalachar was a party to that conclave. The heterogeneous band, which struck victory at Gaya, received a shock from the victory itself and began to quail and to disintegrate. Mr. C. R. Das succeeded in adding power to that shock by his resignation of the Presidentship of the A. I. C. C. The heterogeneous band was pulverised by this enormity and these was mental anarchy and moral paralysis which Mr. Rajagopalachar shared with others. He did not take a leaf out of Mahatma's book. In January 1922, a Representative Conference was held in Bombay of which Sir Sankaran Nair was the speaker. He vacated the chair suddenly in the expectation that the Conference would be benumbed. Mahatma Gandhi was there. The Conference proposed another Chairman and continued the proceedings, adding a vote of thanks to the retired speaker. Mr. Rajagopalachar did not follow that course but joined in the hibernation of the heterogeneous band. Then endless Conferences were held to all of which he was a party. Then there was a truce which put the bold and straight declaration of Gaya into the loft for the first time. Bardoli was altogether forgotten and with others Mr. Rajagopalachar undertook to enlist 50,000 pledged volunteers and collect twenty-five laks of rupees for the launching of immediate Civil Disobedience, without paying so much as a moment's thought to the Bardoli decision and the Constructive programme which had to be worked before the country could be ready for Civil Disobedience. As a prominent councilite of Bombay said to me last June, Mr. Rajagopalachar walked straight into the trap laid for him and helped the undoing of the Gaya Resolutions.

Why should the Congress make a bold and straight declaration in favour of Mr. Rajagopalachar, without the certainty of his carrying it out siglemindedly? Are the risk and the cost even counted, to say nothing of the readiness to face them?—

"OUTLAWS OF BORSAD."

Continued from page 7.)

agricultural community and having once condemned it, they have daily driven it to a life of despair by the measures they have devised out of their own desperation. Their most handy weapons have been the Criminal Tribes Act and the notorious security of the Criminal Procedure Code which are so framed as to lend themselves to almost indefinite abuse, or which an ingenious overzealous officer finds easy to abuse. "Well thought out and carefully calculated solutions were suggested to meet the situation, and these received the strong support of several district magistrates, but," mourns the officer, "unfortunately for various reasons they were negatived and so owing to continued criminality on the part of the Dharalas the work of reiterating these proposals like a Penelope's web continues." While one officer is prepared to admit that the "ultimate cause of his abnormal amount of crime is partly an economic one," he feels, "it is not one that can be easily removed," another thinks that the attentions shown to these people have not been adequate, that the leniency with which they have been treated up-to-now has been utterly misplaced," and that "in lieu of improving them the half-hearted and completely inadequate Hazri measures taken up under the Criminal Tribes Act have resulted in their retrogression," and consequently presses for measures "indicative of determination and strength" under the Criminal Tribes Act." It will now generally be admitted "says the D. S. P." That after nearly a decade's trial these Hazri measure has proved completely abortive." We think the officer is mistaken. The measure has borne enough fruit in the shape of increased crime. The remedy has been worse than the disease, but rather than radically alter the remedy it has been always thought proper to intensify it. If poison aggravates the malady, one way is to make the dose stronger, and despatch the patient, another is to alter the dose altogether and put him on the way to recovery. It was no wonder that proposals for a more determined use of the "Criminal Tribes Act were long negatived. It is a wonder that they should have been countenanced at all.

If anything was needed to complete the ravages of the application of the Criminal Tribes Act, the security sections supplied it. Imagine a district in which in one single year there should have been no less than 1800 cases under the security sections! What is the poor wretch to do if he is to be put into jail on the slightest suspicion? Better, he thinks, o court jail by defiant crime than to be ever the object of police suspicion and police attentions. The economic aspect has never been faced and the District Magistrate fears that it may not be possible to face it at all. Even temporary relief as suspension of payment of land revenue in a year of failure of monsoon has been too frequently denied and a Deputy Secretary to Government naively suggests "that the force to be employed should be as strong as the general population can pay for"—not under usual conditions, not if they can afford—but "under pressure"! In almost every year of famine there is the cry of 'false annawarees' and the full measure of revenue is exacted where it should not be.

Having refused to face the economic aspect of the case, and having been unable to tackle the question of moral reform of the community the Government have naturally not looked beyond the limits of the Criminal Tribes Act and the security sections and the final desperate act has been the imposition of punitive police. As has been noted above the District Magistrate was of the opinion that the punitive police had failed to serve any useful purpose and that no villager wanted it. But the Police was imposed with a vengeance and the people are not yet free from their oppression.

8. We do not think we need discuss here what in our opinion would be the proper solution of the case. We shall only say that the little experiment of posting trained experienced Satyagraha volunteers in every village of the Taluka who will take to every home the message of nonviolence, truth and khaddar, is already proving successful and if the Government retires,—as we think it ought, with good grace,—from the area, we shall gladly share with the people of the village the responsibility to keep peace and order.

9. It is beyond our purpose here to narrate the long tale of woe of the Borsad peasantry, the way in which the punitive polic has terrorised them, the way in which attachments are carried out, and how the life of the people has been rendered insecure by those who profess to keep them in security. We can only describe that condition of things as atrocious.

10. It has been our duty in the circumstances detailed in the foregoing paragraphs to advise the vast majority of the innocent people of Borsad to refuse to pay the unwarranted impost and to resist with all their might and power of endurance, the attempt to cast an unmerited slur on their character. —Yours, etc.,

VALLABHBHAI J. PATEL,
MAHADEO DESAI.

Wadi Junction, on way to Coconada, Dec. 23.

AFGHAN TROOPS AT THE FRONTIER.

(ASSOCIATED PRESS.)

DELHI, Dec. 25.

According to advices received from the Frontier, Afghan troops are now in the village of Mandatai, Sangu Khel country (Afghanistan), in connection with operations against the Kohat and Landi Kotal murderers and Afridi tribesmen are cooperating to prevent the escape of the gangs into the Tirrah. Operations are still proceeding.

CONGRESS ACTIVITIES.

DAS-RAJAGOPALACHAR AGREEMENT.

TEXT OF RESOLUTION.

(FROM OUR SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT.)

COCANADA, Dec. 26.

Already most of the delegates and prominent leaders have arrived. At Gandhinagar there is a large influx of visitors, and the Congress grounds which are spacious enough are a teeming mass of humanity. Arrangements have been carried out, on a large scale, and a spacious pandal has been erected for the Congress. A separate pandal has been put up for the Khilafat Conference. Various other Conferences have been sitting, or about to sit, but interest centres mainly in the Congress, which meets day after to-morrow. It is not uncommon to see people standing in groups here and there, and anxiously discussing the position. There is a great divergence of opinion and the exceptionally strong position of the No-Change Party in the All-India Congress Committee, which sits as Subjects Committee has given an added zest to speculation.

Informal meetings are in progress, and individual conversations are also progressing.

A draft resolution has been prepared, and was circulated, this afternoon, among a few people, by Maulana Mahomed Ali. I do not know whether it represents the final agreement between Sjt. Rajagopalachariar, leader of the No-Changers and Mr. Das, leader of the Swarajists. It is stated that this resolution is to be moved by Sjt. Rajagopalachariar and seconded by Mr. Das.

TEXT OF RESOLUTION.

The resolution reads as under:—"This Congress reaffirms the Non-Cooperation resolutions adopted at Calcutta, Nagpur, Ahmedabad, Gaya, and Delhi. Since doubts have been raised by reason of the Non-Cooperation resolution adopted at Delhi with regard to Council-entry, whether there has been any change in the policy of the Congress regarding the Triple Boycott, this Congress affirms that the principle and policy of that boycott remain unaltered. This Congress further declares that the principle and policy form the foundation of the constructive work and appeals to the nation to carry out the programme of the constructive work as adopted at Bardoli and prepared for the adoption of Civil Disobedience.

But the fact that the Subject Committee after sitting only a few minutes, has had to be adjourned till six p.m. this evening, has given rise to comment. The principal reason of the adjournment must have been the sitting of the Central Khilafat Committee. In the meanwhile, an informal conference is being held at Sjt. Rajagolachariar's cottage, while Mr. Das and other Swaraj leaders are also meeting to discuss the position.

CONGRESS POLICY.

UNANIMITY ON NON-COOPERATION RESOLUTION.

(By Our Special Representative.)

(Congress Camp),

COCANADA, Dec. 26.

Speculation regarding the work of the Congress which meets on the 28th December has been set at rest by the report that an agreement has been brought about between the various leaders on the Non-co-operation Resolution. The position, as it can be gauged at present, is that the Non-cooperation policy and programme is to reaffirm and no doubts are to be left that the Triple Boycott is unaffected and an appeal is to be made to the nation to carry on the constructive work with a view to prepare the country for Civil Disobedience.

This afternoon when the Subjects Committee met, Maulana Mahomed Ali, President-elect, who was in the chair, indicated an agreement on some such lines and, as matters stand now, I believe Sjt. C. Rajagopalachariar will move a resolution to the above effect and Mr. Das is to second the proposal. I expect there will be heated discussion and much controversy in the Subjects Committee.

DAS-CHARIAR COMPROMISE.

(ASSOCIATED PRESS.)

(Congress Camp),

COCANADA, Dec. 26.

The latest information is that Mr. Das and Mr. Rajagopalachariar have agreed on a proposition reaffirming the resolutions passed by the Congress at the last four sessions in respect of the policy and programme on Non-co-operation. Orthodox No-changers, however, are opposed to the Das-Rajagopalachariar compromise.

HIS ATTITUDE AT COCANADA.

MR. RAJAGOPALACHARIAR INTERVIEWED.

(ASSOCIATED PRESS.)

(Congress Camp),

COCANADA, Dec. 26.

In reply to enquiries regarding the position he is going to take up at Cocanada, Mr. Rajagopalachariar said:—"I do not desire to upset what was done under the Delhi compromise and do not desire that the Congress should recall any of the gentlemen elected to the Councils. I feel very strongly, however, that the elections have created confusion in the public mind which has to be cleared. We should make it clear to the country that there has been no alteration in the programme and policy of the Congress as such in regard to the Councils so that we can secure undivided attention and energy in regard to the constructive programme without looking to the Councils for helping us in our work. I, therefore, want the Congress to pass at this session a resolution clearly stating the policy of the Congress."

As regards future work, I think there should be thorough-going attention to the constructive programme, but in the present state of things in India we cannot have one specific programme for all provinces. Each Provincial Committee must consider the conditions of its province and select items and concentrate on them.

Questioned as to whether the Cocanada Congress was going to devise any measures for giving any special impetus to the constructive programme, Mr. Rajagopalachariar said:—"There can be no stimulus invented for this purpose. It is faith in the constructive programme and work alone that can achieve our purpose. There is no want of realisation that the work of construction is absolutely essential. What is wanted is efficiency and diligence and not stimulants." On the question of the National Pact, Mr. Rajagopalachariar agreed with Lala Laipatrai that the Congress should give the public an opportunity to consider the Pact and that it should leave the matter to be disposed of by the All-India Congress Committee at an early date.

Referring to the report of the Committee on the boycott of British Empire goods, Mr. Rajagopalachariar said:—"I am against the boycott of British goods in principle. Pamphletering for publishing up the boycott is likely to add difficulties in creating a calm atmosphere for direct action. However, if the boycott plan excludes cloth from its scope and devotes itself to the Swadeshi part of the programme, I do not wish to interfere with it. I want exclusion of cloth altogether from the boycott plan because it is very wrong to have divided counsels on the subject of Khadi. Khadi is sure to be affected by any plan for pushing up mill cloth."

ALL-INDIA VOLUNTEERS' CONFERENCE

(ASSOCIATED PRESS.)

COCANADA, Congress Camp,

December 25.

Maulana Shaukat Ali briefly addressed the Conference. He urged to make the Cocanada session unique by determining to so organise their forces as to hasten the advent of Swaraj. His own firm conviction was that the Congress could never achieve Swaraj by itself. The attainment of their goal depended soely on volunteers who would rally to their banner. He appealed for five lakh lady volunteers to carry on khadder programme and ten lakhs men to undertake other work. Volunteers must be disciplined men. They must not talk and argue but should silently obey orders of leaders. Therein alone lay the hope for Swaraj.

The Conference was attended by almost all Congress leaders including Maulana Mahomed Ali, Mr. Vijiaraghavachariar, Dr. Ansari, Maulana Abdul Kalam Azad, Dr. Kitchlew, Mrs. Gandhi, Bi Aman, Mrs. Naidu, Mr. Srinivasa Ayengar, Pundit Motilal Nehru, Mr. Prakasham, Mr. Vallabhbhai Patel, Mr. Vithalbhai Patel, and Babu Shyam Sundar Chakravarty.

Among the latest arrivals is Mr C R Das with a contingent of Bengal and Assam delegates.

Owing to alterations in the programme of meetings of Cocanada, the date of the All-India National "Mushaara" is fixed on the 30th at 8 p.m. instead of the 26th as (previously announced).

VICEROY'S BURMA TOUR.

HURRIED RETURN TO DELHI.

(ASSOCIATED PRESS.)

RANGOON, Dec. 26.

The Associated Press of India is officially informed that, in view of pressure of public business, His Excellency the Viceroy will return to Delhi immediately after his visit to Mandaly. On this account his visit to Prome and other places in Burma has been abandoned. His Excellency is expected to arrive in Delhi on January 3rd instead of January 7th.

(Continued from column 6.)

any curtailment of demand for Manchester cloth. The effect of boycott on Manchester was nil either. The foreigners laughed in their sleeves on the talks of Indian politicians.

KHADI—A SUBSIDIARY INDUSTRY.

When asked how the quantitative figure of Manchester imports into India fell to about half the pre-war figures though the value remained the same he attributed it to high prices and lower purchasing power of India. Khadi had not displaced Manchester materially. The appearance of larger amount of Khadi in villages and elsewhere was temporary and would soon shrink. The enthusiasm for Khadi had practically died away and almost all the Charkas were lying idle. The one crore of rupees collected by Mahatmaji had disappeared which could have been profitably utilised in starting and organising some industries to make India self-contained. The Charka did not absorb much. Charka remained only in the cottages as indoor work of some women who took to it as a subsidiary and pleasurable occupation. He said to that extent Charka would remain an industry. The same would be the cause with the handlooms which were doing all sorts of finer counts which the mills did not do as *saris*, etc. But they would also be gradually replaced by power looms. The apparent popularity of Khadi cloth even in the small measure which is now visible was due to a little cheapness and durability. But all that would not wear long and if the politicians desired to achieve their object he thought it could be done only by solid work on the lines he outlined and chiefly among the rich people

BOYCOTT OF FOREIGN CLOTH.

HOW TO MAKE IT EFFECTIVE.

MR. MANMOHANDAS RAMJI'S VIEW.

"Mend the tastes of the rich and you make the country self-sufficient" was the gist of the interview which our representative had with Mr. Manmohandas Ramji, on the question of boycott of foreign cloth. Mr. Ramji, at the outset, expressed his disapproval of the term "Boycott" inasmuch as it reflected a spirit of retaliative hostility. In his opinion "Self-sufficiency" was a better word having the same object, but devoid of the sting. He said the Congress leaders had passed the resolution and were talking of boycott of foreign cloth perhaps not feeling the full responsibility resting on them thereby. All loose talk without steady, sincere and progressive action would achieve nothing. Truly economic self-sufficiency of India was Swaraj, but the attainment of the same conditioned solid and quiet work.

INDIA AND MANCHESTER.

Indian demand for cloth was being met at present from three different sources, the foreign imports, the output of Indian mills and the handloom cloth of India. The foreign imports amounted to about 50 per cent. of the total monetary value of cloth which the country purchased annually and the rest was shared by the Indian mills and handlooms. The quantities supplied were also nearly half and half. The foreign cloth, mostly from Manchester and Lancashire, monopolised the tastes and demands of the richer middle and rich classes of the country comprising about, a fifth of the total population while the remaining four-fifths who are agriculturists and labourers consumed the coarser country-made ware. There was absolutely no competition between Manchester and India; each held its own ground, the Manchester variety for the rich and the Indian make for India's poorer middle and poor classes. One could not oust the other from its field; Manchester did not and could not produce the coarser kind used by the majority of the country's population and India did not possess the intense skill which Manchester had acquired through century-old practice and tradition and the necessary capital to oust Manchester from Indian trade. Other foreign competition with Indian mills was practically nil.

CONDITIONS OF SUCCESS.

Thus the success of the attainment of complete self-sufficiency in cloth industry rested in the tastes and feelings of the rich fifth of the population of the country. If they felt the necessity of making India economically self-contained and if they sacrificed their tastes to the paramount interests of the country's economic welfare and took to Indian-made ware the work of making the country self-sufficient would be effectively carried out most easily. Otherwise, the drain would continue and the work of the politicians should be concentrated on deflecting the mind of the rich from their ruinous taste into the healthier channels. The politicians should unite themselves into one organisation having that object in view. The organisation should perform the two functions of the programme —to study the demands of the consumers and to organise production to meet the demand by bringing together into one close unity, capital, skill and labour. The capital would be easily forthcoming when assured of return of a safe interest. The organisers could enter into a contract for the purchase of the output of the mills at a reasonable price and distribute them among the consumers. Again the mechanical side of production should divide itself into three bodies for spinning, weaving and sales. Plenty of yarn was being spun now and there were working more spinning mills than the present weaving demanded and hence attention should be engaged in the direction of increased weaving. The sales section would have to devote itself to the work of propaganda, study the demands and tastes of consumers by forming itself into a network of organisation in the different centres of the country.

INITIATIVE AND ORGANISATION.

Questioned whether the existing Mill-owners' Associations would not take up the initiative and organise work, Mr. Ramji was certain the capitalists would not contemplate any attempt which aimed at a reduction of their profits and hence the initiative should come from the other side only. If this was done there was no need for any other protection.

Mr. Manmohandas then outlined the suggestion which he gave to Lokamanya Tilak when the latter inquired about Swadeshi organisation in the anti-partition agitation days. He advised Lokamanya to create demand in the country by propaganda for country-made cloth and also start Swadeshi Co-operative Stores to deal in the same. The suggestion fructified into the present Bombay Swadeshi Co-operative Stores and others. The excellent work done by that organisation was eloquently evidenced by Sir Thomas Holland who, when President of the Indian Industrial Commission, remarked that his Calcutta museum was unfit to occupy a niche of the Stores. On the same co-operative lines he suggested the work should be conducted.

To the question what was the effect of boycott of foreign cloth till now preached upon Indian mills and foreign imports into India, Mr. Ramji said there was no material effect. There was a steady increase in the output and sale of Indian mill cloth and that was due to the steady growth of the industry which again did not arise from

(Continued in column 5.)

SETTING THE HOUSE IN ORDER.

CREED OF INDIAN LIBERALS.

NO ASYLUM FOR TORIES AND REVOLUTIONARIES.

WORK OF THE IMPERIAL CONFERENCE.

HOW TO REDRESS THE KENYA WRONG.

DR. SAPRU'S ADDRESS AT THE LIBERAL FEDERATION.

Fellow-Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen,

My first duty is to tender to you all my sincerest thanks for the great honour you have done me in inviting me to preside over your deliberations this year. When about two months ago I received in London cablegrams from Sir Hormusji Wadya and Mr. Ambekar offering me the presidentship of the Liberal Federation, I was not free from considerable doubts as to whether I should accept the offer. But, after carefully thinking over it, I came to the conclusion that if the party to which I have the honour to belong had decided to call upon me to place my services at its disposal this year, I should be wanting in my duty if I failed to respond to that invitation. Much as I appreciate the honour which you have conferred on me and much as I wish that your choice had fallen on some worthier person, I feel, however, that without your support and co-operation it would be impossible for any person in my position to achieve any success in what appears to me to be a crisis in the history of the Liberal party. I have no doubt that I shall receive your support in a generous measure and I feel that the very fact that this conference has been called this year in this great and historic city full of political memories of ancient days—a city which in our own generation has been the scene of activities of some of the most outstanding figures of modern India—should inspire us with some high and useful purpose.

Gentlemen, I have just spoken of the crisis in the affairs of the Liberal party and it will be my attempt to deal with it fairly and frankly and to invite you to face the situation in the same spirit. I do not propose to address you on too many subjects. I would much rather concentrate your attention and mine upon some of those problems which seem to me to be the most pressing. Of these, one affects our party, and that I proposed to deal with at a later stage. Meanwhile, with your permission, I shall at once deal with two or three problems on which I have no doubt you would like to hear me.

THE IMPERIAL CONFERENCE.

It was only on the 30th of the last month that I returned from England after an absence of over five months. During a part of that period I had to work at the Imperial Conference. I assume that you all have read the proceedings of that Conference relating to the question of Indians overseas and I therefore do not propose to trouble you with much of what has appeared in the press. I desire simply to explain the position as it strikes me, and, while I shall no doubt express my own opinions, I shall leave it to you to form your own judgment.

KENYA.

The position which arose when the Kenya decisions were given by His Majesty's Government in July last was to my mind a most critical one. Important negotiations had been pending for some time past between the representatives of the Indians in Kenya and the white settlers there and the Colonial Office. For our part we had the satsifaction that our case was being put by a deputation which was led by one of our most distinguished countrymen whose knowledge of the subject is only surpassed by his enthusiasm for the cause. I, of course, refer to the Right Hon'ble Srinivasa Sastri. When I reached London, I found that Mr. Sastri was deeply immersed in this question and it gladdened my heart to know that all that was humanly possible was being done by Mr. Sastri in an atmosphere which seemed to be charged with electricity. At last the White Paper was issued which led to the famous debate in Parliament, part of which I myself attended. Those decisions were received by our countrymen in England and here with feelings of indignation and dismay and I am afraid nothing that has happened during the last three or four years has tended more to weaken the faith of our countrymen in the justice of His Majesty's Government than these unfortunate decisions. While, on the one hand, it is said that His Majesty's Government cannot interfere with the internal autonomy of self-governing dominions and that no self-governing dominion will for a moment tolerate any encroachment on the part of His Majesty's Government upon the complete freedom of the dominions to pass their own laws relating to franchise—Parliamentary and municipal—on the other hand it is felt that the same argument, assuming it to be valid or politically sound, cannot in the slightest degree apply to a Crown Colony. Kenya was and is still a Crown Colony; but it came to me as a surprise when a die-hard politician with whom we in India are not unfamiliar, presuming perhaps upon my ignorance sought to enlighten me by saying that Kenya was not a Crown Colony and that though it had not a responsible Government it had an element of responsibility. It was dangerous suggestion to make, for similarly India might claim that though she has not responsible Government it has a measure of responsibility in the provinces at least. It was quite apparent to my mind that arguments such as these were absolutely untenable and the real fact of the matter was that His Majesty's Government found the white settlers too strong for them. It was urged by some of the statesmen whom I saw in my private capacity, that the Kenya decisions had certainly improved the position of Indians in Kenya in certain respects. To put it at the lowest, it seemed to me to be a debatable point. Those among my countrymen who knew better the position of Indians unhesitatingly maintained that so far from their position having been improved, it had been seriously prejudiced in so far as the minority of the white settlers was placed in a position of political predominance and definitely acquired the right of exclusive ownership in the Highlands. Indeed, that was not the view of only the Indians. Even the Government of India did not at all feel happy over the decisions given by His Majesty's Government, and His Excellency the Viceroy felt himself called upon to say in a speech which he delivered to the Legislative Assembly that "the news of the decision regarding Kenya came to me and my Government no less than to you as a great and severe disappointment: for India had made the cause of Indians in Kenya her own. As His Majesty's Government has stated, this decision conflicts on material points with the strongly expressed views of my Government as laid before the Caibnet by the Secretary of State for India." This was the state of things in which I found myself placed in Lodon towards the end of July last.

THE DIFFICULTY OF THE POSITION.

I am aware that it was felt in certain quarters, and by certain of my esteemed friends also, that I should immediately sever my connection with the Imperial Conference. I carefully considered the position, but I was clear in my mind that so far from withdrawing from the Conference it was my duty to fight for the vindication of Indians' rights in the dominions and the Crown Colonies and to try either to get the Kenya decisions reversed or at any rate to pave the way for their reconsideration. This is the task that I set to myself. I put myself immediately in touch with some of my political friends in India and I also communicated my views to His Excellency the Viceroy who had deputed me on that mission. The more I thought about it the more strongly I felt that I should not give up the Conference without at least making a struggle for the vindication of our rights. The friends whom I consulted were distinctly of the opinion that I must stay and fight for our rights and I also received much support and encouragement from His Excellency the Viceroy. The difficulty which then confronted me was that I found that India did not figure in the agenda of the Conference excepting in regard to a small question relating to the mandated territories. I owe it to the support which I received from Lord Peel after I had explained to him my position, that His Majesty's Government agreed to give India a day in the Conference. I then interviewed the dominion Prime Ministers. I explained to them my scheme and I must say to the credit of all, excepting of course General Smuts, that they generally agreed to support me. Here I must state that from the beginning to the end, I took my stand on the resolutions of 1921, which, we owe in no small measure, to the efforts of Mr. Sastri, and I cannot allow the criticism in certain papers to go unchallenged that I departed in any degree either from the letter or the spirit of those resolutions.

GENERAL SMUTS' ATTITUDE.

With General Smuts, my experience was however different. As I have said more than once, he was adamant. General Smuts has claimed that he showed me every courtesy. I have never denied it. On the contrary, I frankly admitted it in the speech which I delivered at the Lady Emily Lutyen's residence and I cannot imagine that General Smuts could have overlooked that portion of my speech. But, if General Smuts at all expected that social courtesies on his part could in any measure or degree make amends for his attitude towards the Indian problem and that they could justify me in overlooking his attitude towards the political issue which was raised, he was sadly mistaken. I had not gone to ask for his sympathy with our aspirations towards self-government. I would much rather that we fought our battle for self-government single-handed than that we should seek his support or the support of any outsider in regard to those aspirations. I put before him a definite issue and he rejected it. Not only did he reject it, but he suggested, though he did not move, counter-proposals which, to my mind, were wholly subversive of the principle of citizenship within the ambit of the same Empire and which, if accepted, must necessarily establish a higher and a lower grade of citizenship. Not only did he reject those proposals, but he also openly attacked the Indian Government in a manner in which, by his own standard, he should not have undertaken upon himself to criticise another Government, which is a part of the same Empire; for, let me remind you of what he said: "I must say quite frankly," said General Smuts, "that I have been very much perturbed over the attitude adopted by the Indian Government in this matter. They pressed the case against Kenya in a way which seemed to me to exceed the limits of prudence and wisdom, and, when the settlement was ultimately made, language was used in regard to it which I think would certainly not help the cause of loyalty either in India or anywhere else in the Empire. The whole incident, as I said, has had a very bad effect in South Africa." Now, if after this language and his whole attitude and after saying that franchise for coloured races in South Africa was "a question of impossibility," he expected me to treat him as the best friend of India, then he indulged in a vain hope. Frankly, gentlemen, I do not care whether he charges me with a breach of international etiquette or anything similar to it. I feel that the South African Government, of which he is the head, has adopted towards our countrymen settled in that part of the Empire an attitude which to use his own language cannot help the cause of loyalty either in India or anywhere else in the Empire.

I shall now briefly refer to my experience of the Colonial Office. With the Colonial Office I had no little difficulty, but it must be said to the credit of the Duke of Devonshire that while he saw no prospect of the Kenya decisions being modified, he at last agreed to extend the scope of my scheme to Kenya.

THE SCHEME OF COMMITTEES.

I shall now briefly explain to you, if I may, what my scheme was. That is contained in my speech and also in the speech delivered at the Conference by the Prime Minister and, lest it might be misunderstood, I would quote the formula as contained in the latter 'in extenso':

"The Secretary of State for the Colonies, on behalf of His Majesty's Government, cordially accepted the proposal of Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru that there should be full consultation and discussion, between the Secretary of State for the Colonies and a Committee appointed by the Government of India, upon all questions affecting British Indians domiciled in British Colonies, Protectorates and Mandated territories. At the same time the Duke was careful to explain that before decisions were taken as a result of discussion with the Committee, consultations with the local Colonial Governments concerned, and in some cases local enquiry, would be necessary.

"Further, while welcoming the proposal, the Duke of Devonshire reminded the Conference that His Majesty's Government had recently come to certain decisions as to Kenya, which represented in their considered view the very best that could be done in all the circumstances. While he saw no prospect of these decisions being modified, he would give careful attention to such representations as the Committee appointed by the Government of India might desire to make to him.

"Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, while taking note of the above statement of the Duke, desired to make plain that the recent Kenya decisions could not be accepted as final by the people of India."

I shall now ask you to analyse and examine the provisions of the formula which I have just quoted. While no doubt it is true that the Kenya decisions have not been reversed—and frankly speaking I did not expect that a decision given by His Majesty's Government in July last could be reversed by the Imperial Conference in October—I personally think that our position is distinctly stronger to-day and the prospect is more hopeful. I do not wish to put the case higher than this, nor do I wish to overlook the fact that the real struggle will commence now. After the Kenya decision it was generally understood that the principle of equality embodied in the resolutions of 1921 had been abandoned, if not directly, at least by implication, and in important quarters there was not a little nervousness as to what the Conference might do if any one was rash enough to raise the Indian question. The result however shows that at the Conference of 1923 we have secured a most valuable endorsement of the resolutions of 1921. Next, we have reopened the Kenya door and there is reason now to hope that justice may in the end prevail. The Conference has now definitely provided a scheme for machinery which, if rightly employed will go far in the future to secure the grievances under which Indians labour whether in the Colonies or in the Dominions. Apart from our having gained an unequivocal expression of good-will towards our aspirations from the other members of the British Commonwealth—excluding South Africa—a very important constitutional advance has been secured, namely, the right of the Government of India to negotiate with the Colonial Office through Government of India and not by the Secretary of State and will deal directly with the Colonial Office in regard to all questions affecting British Indians in British Colonies, Protectorates and Mandated territories. If necessary, the Committee or Committees to be appointed will have to go, when concerned with questions relating to Indians in the Dominions, to Australia, New Zealand and Canada, the Prime Ministers of which countries expressed their willingness to abide by the resolutions of 1921, and to give effect to their provisions with the help and support of their Parliaments. Mr. Mackenzie King and Mr. Massey agreed to receive such Committees and Mr. Bruce thought that he could give effect to the provisions of those resolutions without the help of such a committee. To use his own words, "Australian public opinion is ready to welcome, so far as the position of Indians in Australia is concerned, any measure which is conceived in the interests of the Empire as a whole." Further on, Mr. Bruce summed up the position as follows:—

"In view of the position which exists in Australia and the consideration which has been given to the question, there is no necessity for a committee further to discuss the matter such as has been suggested by Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru. While I appreciate the spirit in which it is put forward, I do not think in the special circumstances of Australia there is any necessity for such action. On my return to Australia I will consult with my colleagues as to what action can be taken."

In reply to this I stated as follows:—

We do not want to send a committee to create any agitation in his country (that is, Mr. Bruce's)—or for the matter of that, any agitation in any country, and I can absolutely feel sure that that is not what is at the back of my mind; but if it is necessary for us to explain our position to you and to help you in the problem, for Heaven's sake do not refuse to accept a committee like that. We want simply to help you, and if without receiving a committee from my Government and my country you can solve the problem, so much the better for you, so much the better for us, and so much the more creditable to you and to your Government."

BRITISH COLUMBIA.

Since I left England I have learnt that the Paliament of British Columbia has expressed its unwillingness to make any concession in favour of Indians in regard to franchise. Well, I am neither surprised nor disappointed. At the time when the discussion took place I fully knew that it would not be without much difficulty that our committee would be able to create an impression on those in authority in British Columbia. But I have no doubt that if the committee goes to Canada at an early date it should be able to come to some settlement notwithstanding the fact that the attitude of British Columbia is at present, as it has been for some time past, one of obduracy. But in this connection I shall quote from Mr. Mackenzie King's speech:

"It is probable that the Dominion Franchise Act will come up for revision at the approaching session of Parliament. I told Mr. Sastri it was hardly probable it would come up last session, but that I thought it would come up next session. If the course we anticipate is followed the Franchise Act will be referred to a committee of the House and that committee will be in a position to hear any representations that may be made to it."

Further on he stated: "If it were their (i.e., the Indian delegates') desire to have the delegation given an opportunity of meeting the Parliamentary committee to which the matter will be referred for consideration, I should be glad to see, if the time of their visit so permitted, that they were given a chance to meet the members of that committee and to confer with them at Ottawa. In other words, we would be only too happy to give to any group which may come from India, any person she may send, the amplest opportunities to discuss with our public men all aspects of this particular question. I say this having regard to the method of approach Sir Tej has presented to us here. He has made it clear that the committee would come for the purpose of exploring avenues and ways and means to reach an ultimate result. He should recognise that we may have to take time in this matter, but I would like him to believe that we are sincere in hoping that we will be able to meet his wishes. In seeking so to do, we may have to proceed step by step, but the Canadian people as a whole are, I am sure, really desirous of meeting our fellow British citizens from India in every reasonable particular. I have not the slightest doubt about that."

It will thus be seen that so far as Mr. Mackenzie King is concerned he has pledged himself to give every facility to our committee and I think I may say that his attitude will be one of helpfulness. It is precisely because British Columbia is obdurate or obstinate that we have got to send a strong committee and strengthen its hands by our support.

CROWN COLONIES AND KENYA.

I shall now pass on to the Crown Colonies and particularly to Kenya. For the administration of the Crown Colonies including Kenya His Majesty's Government is directly responsible through its Colonial Office. During my negotiations it became quite clear that it was impossible for me to get the Duke of Devonshire or His Majesty's Government to go back at once on their decisions. It was equally clear that the Kenya decisions could not be allowed to go unchallenged and though they might not be reversed or reconsidered in October 1923, the situation might change, political conditions might be more favourable at no distant time, and what seemed to be a hopeless position then might improve if we persisted in our attempt to secure justice and equality for our nationals there. It, therefore, seemed to me that the next best thing that could be done was to get an undertaking from the Colonial Secretary that he would extend the scope of the scheme to Kenya also. Accordingly the formula which I have quoted above was settled and it is "that while the Duke saw no prospect of those decisions being modified he promised that he would give careful attention to such representations as the committee appointed by the Government of India might desire to make to him." After the formula was read by the Prime Minister I stated in my last speech that to me as an Indian it was of course disappointing that the Duke saw no prospect of modifying the Kenya decisions, which could never be accepted in India. I further stated as follows:—"But his agreement with the principle of my scheme, and his consent to give careful attention to such representations as the committee may lay before him, inspires me with the hope that the door is not barred, and that the Colonial Office may be shown the way to an acceptable solution." Now, speaking candidly I do not think that there can be any room for doubt that the Kenya decisions have been robbed of that finality which was claimed for them in July last and that they must come up for reconsideration. Meanwhile, since I arrived in India I have learnt that the Kenya legislature has introduced an Immigration Ordinance which is extremely drastic in its character and which, if allowed to become law, will practically stop Indian emigration to Kenya. I have not yet been able to read the terms of this Ordinance and my knowledge of it is confined to the summary which has appeared in certain newspapers. Of course we cannot accept an Ordinance of that character and we must plainly tell the Colonial Office that that ordinance, if allowed by them to become law, will complicate the problem still further. In the situation that has arisen it seems to me that a committee regarding Kenya should go at once from India to England to make representations to and enter into discussions with the Colonial Office without any loss of time. I have strong hopes that the Government of India will not allow the grass to grow under their feet and that they will expedite the appointment and despatch of such a committee consisting of strong, tactful and weighty persons at the earliest possible date. As I visualise to myself the situation it seems to me that the committee so appointed should first tackle the question of immigration and then raise the bigger questions arising out of the Kenya decisions. You will perhaps ask me what guarantee there is that this committee will succeed in gaining any solid or substantial results. My answer to such a question would be this. If the men you send are strong and reasonable they should be able to achieve something substantial, more particularly because the Government in England appreciate now the depth and strength of the feeling on this question. And for aught we know to the contrary we may have at no distant date a more favourable Government. As all experience shows decisions which were at one time considered to be final have had to be reconsidered and although it is true that the white settlers in Kenya have got the moral support and sympathy of South Africa, which to my mind is a factor not to be ignored, yet it does not seem to me beyond the scope of statesmanship to arrive at a settlement which would more effectively safeguard the economic interests of our countrymen in Kenya and remove the sting of racial inferiority. Indeed it seems to me that unless this is done the tension created by the Kenya decisions must continue to exist and India must refuse to accept a position of inferiority in the Empire.

I am aware of the objections that have been raised to this scheme which has been accepted by the Imperial Conference. It has been said that the committees will be expensive. That they will cost some money I have no doubt, but political fights in these days necessarily involve expenditure. I do not know of any political organisation at present existing in India which can carry on its propaganda or achieve any substantial results without pecuniary sacrifices. At the same time I think that the expenditure involved should by no means be so heavy as to justify our rejection of the scheme. It has next been asked, if the committee fails to achieve any result what is to be done next. I should not like to anticipate events, but in all constitutional fights it seems to me the failure of one step is only an incentive to another. Frankly speaking, those who raise objections of this character should be prepared to suggest alternatives and if they have alternatives of their own, why have they not hitherto acted on those alternatives and what has been there to prevent them from taking independent action of their own? It is far better that we should work steadily and patiently but with a full determination to get the wrongs remedied than that we should indulge in threats which we do not mean to give effect to or which we know or ought to know cannot be given effect to.

SOUTH AFRICA.

I shall now pass on to South Africa. The problem is the biggest there. There are about 161,000 Indians there who, excepting a few thousands residing in Cape Colony, have no political franchise. In Natal their municipal franchise threatened. In the Transvaal there is no franchise of any kind. In Natal they cannot acquire town lands in townships and in the Transvaal they are prohibited either as individuals or as companies from acquiring land. In the gold area they cannot occupy land. The manner in which traders' licenses are granted and the law relating to them is administered, makes their lot still more unbearable. Last of all, the Union Government has under contemplation legislation providing for the compulsory segregation of Indians in urban areas by imposing certain restrictions on the ownership and occupation of land. All these facts I brought forward in my speech at the Conference and nowhere throughout his speech did General Smuts challenge any one of them. Throughout his speech he treated the Indian question as if it was a question only relating to franchise, and yet he asserted that he did not think that his Indian fellow-subjects could complain of injustice and "that it was just the opposite." Consider for a moment the manner in which he spoke. "People who have come there as coolies," said General Smuts, "people who have come there as members of depressed classes in India have proposed. Their children have been to school; they have been educated, and their children and grand-children to-day are many of them men of great wealth." One should have thought that if these men had acquired wealth and received education they were good enough to exercise some sort of political and municipal franchise. But General Smuts' position is that he cannot make a distinction between these men and the original inhabitants, and he says: "You have a majority of blacks in the Union, and, if there is to be equal manhood suffrage over the Union, the whites would be swamped by the blacks; you cannot make a distinction between Indians and Africans, you would be impelled by the inevitable logic to go the whole hog, and the result would be that not only would the whites be swamped in Natal by the Indians, but the whites would be swamped by the blacks, and the whole position for which we have striven for two hundred years or more now would be given up. For White South Africa it is not a question of dignity but a question of existence and no Government could for a moment either tamper with this position or do anything to meet the Indian point of view." This is the unqualified doctrine of white supremacy within the British Empire—a doctrine which to my mind cannot be accepted by those who owe allegiance to a common sovereign. In the first place General Smuts conveniently forgets that the whites in South Africa are as much foreigners as the Indians. In the next place the Indians there, who according to his own admission have been educated and have acquired wealth, cannot justly be grouped together with the blacks until the latter have reached the same stage of civilisation. In the third place, even assuming that the predominantly large number of Indians is a standing menace to the safety of the whites, that may be an argument for regulating the law of franchise, but it can never be an argument for the permanent and wholesale disenfranchisement of the Indians and in any case there can be no justification for those economic restraints which have been put upon Indians and which, apart from imposing indignity on them and on India, strike at the very root of their prosperity as well as freedom. What I was most anxious about was that General Smuts should join hands with the Government of India in exploring avenues for the solution of this difficult problem. I knew that he had dissented from the resolutions of 1921 and I had little or no hope that I could persuade him to agree to those resolutions now. But he would give nothing, consent to nothing, and hold out no hopes. On the contrary, as I have shown above, he showed his concern not only in the whites of South Africa but also in those of Kenya and attacked the Government of India for their attitude towards the Kenya decisions. He also refused to agree to the appointment of a diplomatic agent to be sent by the Government of India to look after the Indian interests there and to act as an intermediary between it and the South African Government and to keep the Government of India well informed of the facts relating to Indians there. I am satisfied that from General Smuts and his Government we need not expect the smallest possible response to our demands,

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Numerous Medical Men and eminent Oculist have testified to the excellent restful light given by incandescent gas burners: the light is soft and well distributed and does not cause damage to eye-sight like lights of high intrinsic brilliance.

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SETTING THE HOUSE IN ORDER.

(Continued from previous page.)

and I believe that if he persists in the course which he has adopted the problem of Indians in South Africa will at no distant date become such a grave problem that it will be a source of the greatest weakness to the very idea of imperial unity of which he professes to be an ardent exponent and apostle It is bound to lead to a cleavage among the subjects of our common Sovereign on racial lines and however much we may regret it, it must be recognised that when that stage is reached it will be a most disturbing factor in imperial unity, which will have to be reckoned with seriously by those who are unwilling at the present moment to recognise its evil potentialities. Here let me strongly repudiate one of the propositions urged by General Smuts, viz., "We must not derive from the one British citizenship rights of franchise, because that would be a profound mistake." I regret that even the Duke of Devonshire fell a prey to this confusion when he sought to make a distinction between imperial nationality and "local citizenship." If, however, imperial citizenship is not a mere shadow but consists of something substantial, then cannot see how it is possible to divide that citizenship into two grades, a higher and a lower. You may raise your franchise as high as you like, but I do maintain, and maintain very strongly, that notwithstanding any measure of internal autonomy that you may possess you cannot bar out any section of His Majesty's subjects merely on racial grounds. The question, therefore, arises as to what is to be done with regard to South Africa. General Smuts will not have a diplomatic agent from the Government of India, he will not have a committee to investigate the facts and explore the avenues for a solution, he will not remove the economic restraints imposed on our countrymen, and I fear he will persist in his policy of segregation. If we had a fairly substantial population of white South Africans living or carrying on trade in India I should not despair of a solution. But as matters stand, he can pursue his even course in the name and on behalf of the whites there and refuse to be dictated to by any outside authority on the ground that South Africa is an independent self-governing unit of the Empire. India on the other hand is not a self-governing unit and its Government is still in the leading strings of the India Office and His Majesty's Government. Meanwhile, in recent years Natal has been making money out of its coal trade with India.

TARIFF AGAINST SOUTH AFRICAN COAL.

I certainly think that the time has come when the Government of India should take courage in both its hands and failing to get any satisfaction out of General Smuts, as it is bound to fail, raise the tariff against South African coal, reduce railway freights for Indian coal, improve transport facilities, and give other encouragement to the local coal industry. Unless some such action is taken by the Government of India and unless it tells the authorities in England that out of respect for Indian feeling and also on considerations of self-respect it must be allowed to take this line, I think nothing that we may do will produce any impression on the South African Government. I think the safety and prosperity of our brethren in South Africa and our own national dignity demand that we should call upon the Government of India to take a strong line in dealing with South Africa, for I am convinced that if the Government of India feels that by representations or negotiations it can achieve any satisfactory results now or for a long time to come, such attempts are doomed to failure and their failure is bound to lead to a development of political feeling in this country which will be extremely embarrassing to it in regard to its internal administration.

To sum up, my view is that so far as the Dominions other than South Africa and the Crown Colonies including Kenya are concerned we must give a patient trial to the scheme which has been adopted by the Imperial Conference and do nothing in the meatime which may prejudice the course of negotiations with the Dominions or the Colonial Office in regard to Kenya. But so far as South Africa is concerned. I am clear that there is need for strong action on the part of the Government. I say the Government, for unless the duly constituted Government asserts itself in an unequivocal manner in a controversy with another Government the result of any action on our part may be far from satisfactory or substantial.

INDIA AND THE IMPERIAL CONFERENCE.

The position of India in relation to the Imperial Conference is a peculiar one. To quote the words of Mr. Duncan Hall, "The recognition of the rights of India to a place in the Imperial Conference is a mark of her special position and circumstances. No other portion of the Empire . . . . . can yet be said to have advanced sufficiently towards self-government to have any just claim to recognition as a member of the Conference." India has got a vote as every Dominion has and speaking for myself, I must gladly acknowledge that the Indian delegation was listened to with patience and courtesy. Indeed the one thing noticeable throughout the proceedings of the Conference was the atmosphere of good-will in which we worked. But when I say this I think I owe it to you to say also that the thought was not absent from my mind that if India were a self-governing Dominion it could speak with greater authority and greater power. The Ministers of the Dominions speak with the consciousness that they have their Parliaments and their countries behind them. Not so in the case of the non-official Indian representatives. The Indian representatives have no mandates from their Parliament and the Indian Government is not yet an independent Government. Undoubtedly, to my mind, India's prestige in this Council of the Empire would be infinitely greater if she could deal with the rest of the Empire on terms of perfect equality, and it for this reason that I feel that unless and until India first achieves self-government the position of her nationals overseas must always continue to be more or less unsatisfactory. We are reminded every now and then by our critics, friendly and otherwise, that we must wait and be in no hurry to press the claims of our countrymen in the Dominions and the Crown Colonies until a more favourable change takes place in the opinion of the white settlers. It seems to me that if India were a self-governing country the necessity for addressing these injunctions to the white settlers would be equally strongly felt. As matters stand at present the underlying basis for advice of this kind is that Indians can at best expect an indulgence. I do not think that if India were a self-governing country within the Empire the wishes of her Government or her people could be ignored or a decision which was resented even by the Government of India could be given, as it was in July last when on the main questions the opinion of the white settlers prevailed. It, therefore, seems to me that while on the one hand it is our duty to emphasise our claim regarding proper, just and equal treatment outside India, our duty is even more imperative that we should lay still greater stress upon the achievement of responsible government in India itself. This leads me on to the second part of my address.

THE INDIAN SITUATION.

The present constitution has been in force for the last three years and we have just passed through the turmoil of the second general elections. When the reforms were initiated political India found itself split into two camps. Our party decided at that time to enter the councils and to work the reforms. There were others who would have nothing to do with them, who looked upon them as a mere camouflage and who thought that the political salvation of India lay not in working the reforms in the councils, but by opposing them and by boycotting the councils. We had to bear the heat and burden of the day, we had to court much unpopularity. Undoubtedly the other party was better organised, more active and more richly possessed of the sinews of war. We had however, the courage of our convictions and according to our lights worked the reforms. In the process of working them we came into conflict with popular opinion in regard to certain matters and towards the end of our term in the councils we were in acute disagreement on not a few occasions with official opinion. The verdict of the electorates at the last elections has gone against us. That is a fact which must be recognised and even in quarters where our work was appreciated at one time there is a tendency to belittle it and to find fault with our outlook. Speaking for myself, I am not in the slightest degree petrubed if in certain official circles which shall be nameless, there has been a change of attitude towards us. I should be sorry indeed if, as repeatedly asserted by our political detractors, there was an iota of truth in the charge made against us that we had entered into an unholy alliance with the bureaucracy against the liberties of our country. We were prepared to work and I have no doubt we shall continue to work with those in power only on one condition, that is, that we reserve to ourselves in the fullest possible measure the liberty of taking a line of our own when a course proposed to be taken by the Government on a particular occasion does not command itself to our judgment or conscience. I do not think that we can have any justification for surviving as a party if we allow our judgment to be subordinated to any extraneous considerations. As regards the popular verdict I venture to think that it would not have been so wholly against us as it has been if we had been better organised and had taken care long before the elections to educate public opinion more effectively. You will pardon my frankness if I say that so far as the education of public opinion is concerned we have not done a fraction of what was necessary and thereby allowed the impression to go abroad that everything that went wrong in the country during the last three years was done either with our connivance or with our acquiescence.

LIBERALS' RECORD OF WORK.

Our party's record of work in the Councils taken *en massee* has to my mind been such that we could reasonably expect at least some credit for it. It is due to your efforts that the Press Act of 1910 has been repealed. To you also the country owes the repeal or many other repressive laws and if circumstances had been more favourable I have no doubt that one or two other pieces of similar legislation which still stand on the statute book would have disappeared I can multiply instances of legislation and other solid work for which you may claim credit. When the true facts relating to the situation during the last three years are published, even those who condemn you to-day without knowledge or because of prejudice, and as I maintain without justification, for having been parties to what they describe as wholesale repression will regret that they have indulged in language which, howsoever profitable as an electioneering device, will not be endorsed by history. From knowledge that I possess I feel satisfied that without your moderating and restraining influence the position of your critics would have been much worse. Professedly, you could not favour and I hope you will never favour anything which disturbs or prejudices the orderly development of the country. But equally true it is that you did all that you could to pour oil over troubled waters and if you failed in your attempts the blame cannot to my mind be laid at your doors. On the other hand, if personalities are eliminated and party passions kept well under control it must be frankly admitted that it is a great tribute to your foresight that those who refused to enter the councils in 1920 have after three years decided to follow your example.

THE WRECKING OF COUNCILS.

It is true that they are going into the Councils with professions of destruction on their lips but you must make allowance for their very natural desire to seem to be consistent. As to whether they will succeed in destroying the councils the next three months will show. Speaking here again from my knowledge of the constitution and of the machinery of administration, I have very serious doubts as to whether even a fraction of the threats which are at the present moment held out will materialise. But even assuming that unfortunately the stage is reached when they will succeed in giving effect to their threats and the entire machinery of the Government is paralysed, it will be for these wreckers to give us the alternative to the present constitution. You will at any rate have the satisfaction that you have been no party to the wrecking of the constitution and it may very well be that those of you who may find themselves face to face with a situation like this in the Assembly or the provincial Councils may yet try to prevent the machinery from wholly being wrecked. It is assumed however by those who are at present going into the Councils that they and they alone desire and are prepared to work for the achievement of responsible government in India. The facts however are too strong for such an assumption. Within the very first year of its existence a resolution was moved in the last Assembly urging further constitutional progress. The Government of India sent a despatch to the Secretary of State and the present Secretary of State sent a reply which is well-known to you. The Secretary of State vaguely hinted at the possibility of further exploring the avenues of progress under the present Government of India Act.

What exactly he meant by it I cannot say. But time after time your representatives in the Assembly gave free and forcible expression to the desire for further constitutional advance. Meanwhile, opinion has crystallised in Liberal circles all over India and during the last two years the Liberal party has not hesitated to express its views on the question freely and frankly. I personally think the time has come when you should definitely frame a programme, put it before the country and the Government, work for it and fight for it. I have no doubt whatever that when you put forward that programme it will be received with strong opposition in official circles in India and if the present Government should continue in England you need expect very little from it in the way of constitutional advance. Arguments which were used 30 years ago against any progress are still being used today and I have no doubt they will continue to be so used if the question of constitutional advance arises not now but 30 years hence. Opposition of this character need not deter you. You have conquered such opposition in the past and I have no doubt that you will still be able to conquer it in the future. But to my mind, it is not enough that you should formulate your programme. It is at least as necessary that you must effectively deal with your opponents' arguments and even more than that, it is necessary that you should set your house in order first.

THE POSITION IN THE PROVINCES.

The position at the present moment is that in the provinces you have got diarchy with partial responsibility. Diarchy has got very few friends left in India either among officials or non-officials. The whole basis of diarchy was that in regard to certain subjects of administration. Ministers would have complete control and in regard to others they would have an effective voice. So far as the transferred subjects are concerned it is an admitted fact that the Ministers have been expected to make bricks without straw. They have had practically no control over the purse and our finances have been at the lowest ebb in almost every province. It is as much to the credit of the statesmanship of our Ministers as to the sense of discipline of the services, Imperial and Provincial, associated with them, that inside the Government there has not been friction such as under the constitution might have paralysed the administrative machinery. But experience has exposed its defects and we must profit by experience. As regards the other half of the Government experience shows that at least in certain provinces Ministers have had no effective voice and the system of joint deliberations which the Parliamentary Committee so much emphasised has not been followed to the extent to which it might have been. Besides there has been no such thing as joint responsibility of the Ministers either. Indeed in at least one province the differences between the Ministers and the members of the Executive Council have on certain important occasions come to the surface in open Council. On the other hand the position of the Ministers in at least some parts of India has been far from enviable as they have not had that support from the councils without which true responsible government is impossible.

THE CENTRAL GOVERNMENT.

In the central Government the position if anything is even more unsatisfactory. On the top of the Central Government is the Secretary of State and it should never be forgotten that the power of direction, superintendence and control which is vested in him is not a mere figure of speech. It is a very real and living control. At any rate, I have not noticed much evidence of any self-abdication on the part of Whitehall. In the altered state of things, notwithstanding the theory of the ultimate responsibility of Parliament for the good government of India the centre of political gravity has shifted from Whitehall to Delhi and Simla and yet the position of the Government of India is by no means a very enviable one. On the one hand, constitutionally it is under the control of the Secretary of State, on the other it has to deal with an Assembly which has an overwhelmingly large non-official majority. The executive is irremoveable but all the same, excepting in regard to certain matters it feels the pressure of solid non-official opinion in the Assembly. A Government situated as it is can never depend upon the support of any party in the Assembly. It may at times accept compromises which perhaps it would have rejected if it had a party to fall back upon and when it refuses to accept any such compromise it comes into conflict with non-official opinion in the Assembly and popular opinion outside. On the other hand an Assembly which knows that it can criticise the Government and offer obstruction whenever it can close up its ranks but which is not entrusted with any responsibility, must more or less be always in an attitude of suspicion and resent the limitations which have been placed up its powers.

A THOROUGH RE-EXAMINATION NEEDED

Taking the situation as it is, I submit that a true sense of responsibility cannot grow in a soil like that of the Assembly. Admittedly, the constitution which was given by the Act of 1919, was of a temporary character and the Government of India Act itself contemplates the appointment of a commission for the purposes of enquiring into the working of the system of government, the growth of education and the development of representative institutions, etc. It seems to me that upon a true construction of section 84 (A) it cannot possibly be held that this commission cannot be appointed before the expiration of 10 years. I think the whole position has been put very pointedly by Mr Hope Simpson (whose re-election to Parliament I welcome) in a speech which he delivered last month at the National Liberal Club. "It is patently unreasonable" said Mr. Hope Simpson, "that India should be condemned to the administration of a faulty constitution for six long years. if intermediate reform is possible, nor can I see any reason why the statutory provision for an examination in 1929, should preclude examination of the question before that date. Only good can come from investigation of the working of the machinery set up under the Act of 1919. If all is well, it is good that this fact should be authoritatively stated. If there are weak points, they should be strengthened—if modification is required the change necessary should be undertaken. The case is one for detailed, careful and thorough enquiry in all its aspects by a commission of first-class men to include an expert in constitutional law." With these observations of Mr. Hope Simpson I need scarcely tell you that I am in complete agreement and I have repeatedly urged them myself both here and in England during the last twelve months. There are no doubt dangers in over-acceleration but to my mind there are even greater dangers in undue delay. At a recent debate in the Royal Colonial Institute Sir William Vincent, who can speak with direct knowledge which is by no means out of date, is reported to have stated as follows:—Sir William Vincent emphatically declared that Britain had given India certain solemn undertakings, and it was impossible for Britain to go back on them. None was more alive to the dangers of over-acceleration of the reforms than those who have some measure of responsibility for carrying on the administration. But it was impossible in the new system which has been inaugurated, for good or bad, to carry on the old system of bureaucratic government that had got to change with changing times, and the sooner they made up their mind to that the better it would before future relations." These are not the words of an irresponsible egitator or dilettante politician. They are the words of a man who has had intimate experience of the reforms and who has held so many distinguished positions in India under the old and new systems alike. I, therefore think that it is the weakness of the present constitution which furnishes the strongest argument for a thorough re-examination of the whole position and when to that is added the undoubted fact that political sentiment in this country among all classes has unmistakably been growing and that a new consciousness is pervading the whole of the country. I cannot see how it is consistent with statesmanship or with the best interests of England and India to postpone the appointment of such a commission until 1929. Indeed, Mr. Montagu himself during the passage of the Government of India Bill declared that the law relating to the appointment of the statutory commission was not like the law of Medes and Persians and I, for one fail to see how either the Government of India or the Secretary of State or Parliament can improve the position by waiting until 1929. On the other hand there is every danger that the situation may still further deteriorate and what may be possible now to achieve with the goodwill of all or many, may present difficulties of an enormous character a few years hence.

AMENDMENT OF THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA ACT.

I am aware that it is held in certain quarters that it is possible to make an advance in certain directions under the present Government of India Act itself without in any way modifying or altering the provisions thereof. Even assuming that the Secretary of State in Council may by rule framed under section 19(A) of the Act regulate and restrict the exercise of the powers of superintendence, direction and control vested in him with a view to give effect to the purposes of the Government of India Act, 1919, it is obvious that such relaxation of the control of the Secretary of State will be very much different from genuine responsible government. Let us assume further that under the Government of India Act itself it is possible to establish provincial autonomy. Will you be satisfied with provincial autonomy without a corresponding change in the character and composition of the central Government? The words "provincial autonomy" seems to have a great fascination for some of us, but I venture to think that when you will take the trouble of viewing the Government as a whole you will not be free from serious doubt as to whether in actual practice it is practicable to give the provinces autonomy when the Central Government which must continue to deal with certain national matters of the most vital character will continue to own the control of a higher authority. From a purely constitutional as also an administrative point of view I think the system will not work even fairly satisfactorily for long and I am afraid there will be constant friction between the so-called autonomous provincial Governments and the central Government. It is true that the sphere of functions of the two Governments may be more clearly defined, but it seems to me inevitable that in certain matters affecting the interests of the country as a whole your Minsters will be in the unenviable position of choosing between their supporters in Councils and the central Government. It seems to me that nothing can be more ill-assorted or more likely to retard the growth of full and real responsible institutions in this country than to introduce complete responsibility in the provinces and place them under the control of an irremovable and irresponsible executive in the central Government. The spirit actuating the two respectively will be, if not antagonistic, very different, and I am afraid that instead of getting the substance of responsibility you will get the shadow. Among other problems of the future as I envisage, it is the problem of having a central Government which in regard to national matters will be the most cohesive element. For, our provinces cannot in the interest of national safety and national progress afford to be too provincial. I am not pleading for the introduction of diarchy in the central Government. All that I am urging is that the field of administration covered by the central Government should be carefully surveyed and examined, the sphere of functions of the central and provincial Governments should be precisely defined, and that the civil administration in charge of the central Government should be made responsible to the extent to which it is made responsile in the provinces. This necessarily gives rise to the question as to what we are to do in the future with the Army and the Foreign and Political Departments of the Government of India.

THE ARMY.

As regards the army I desire to emphasise that it is such a huge and delicate machinery and the problems connected with it are of such a complex and technical character that I think you will be well advised not to press for its control until you are ready for it. It should not however be beyond the scope of statesmanship to provide ample statutory safeguards for the army budget. That is a matter for experts. Meanwhile, we should have a definite and steadily progressive programme for the Indianisation of the army, by which I understand the providing for the recruitment of Indian officers with the highest training in the different branches of the army. This must necessarily be a slow process, but not so slow as I am afraid, will be the case if no further progress is made upon the scheme which was adumbrated early this year—a scheme which, though it is a concession to Indian sentiment, is very far removed from the real Indianisation of the army and may take generations before our aspiration in that direction bears fruit. If the scheme which was put forward before the Assembly early this year has not evoked much response or enthusiasm, it is to no small extent due to the consciousness that whatever it may do it cannot achieve the end which it professes to achieve within any reasonable distance of time. I shall perhaps be asked as to who in future is to administer the Army department and who is to represent it in the legislature. Well, gentlemen, the Foreign and Political departments are supposed to be in the hands of the Governor-General himself and yet the fact that the Governor-General is not a member of the legislature has not placed those departments at any special disadvantage. Similarly, I think some such arrangement will have to be arrived at by which the Governor-General may assume definite responsibility for the administration of the army and be also represented in the Assembly of the future. These are matters for the examination of the commission which I have suggested above, and, I, therefore, refrain from going into details. It is sometimes urged that India can never be a self-governing country unless it is able to assume responsibility for its defence. Well, if in the case of some Dominions England could take responsibility for their defence until they were able to assume that responsibility for themselves, why not in the case of India?

THE INDIAN PRINCES.

Not less important is the problem relating to the Indian Princes and their relations to the central responsible Government. That there are some enlightened and patriotic Princes I readily admit, but the vast majority of them, I maintain, are extremely jealous of their rights and dignities, and having been accustomed to centuries of autocratic rule they cannot be expected easily to fall into line with democratic institutions. So far from courting their opposition or arousing their suspicion it is far better that in the interest of the bulk of the country you should leave them alone and let them remain under the direct charge of the Viceroy than that you should try to bring them into direct relation with your responsible Government of the near future. I am open to argument and should always be ready to accept better plan, but I suggest to you that you should adopt a programme for responsible government in the provinces and a corresponding *simultaneous* modification of the character and composition of the Government of India.

OBJECTIONS ANSWERED.

I shall now briefly notice some of the arguments which may be urged against any such further constitutional advance in the near future

(1) In the first place, it is urged that a democratic responsible Government in India is an impossibility without an intelligent and capable electorate. Under the present scheme we have got an electorate of some 5 millions. The election of 1920 was criticised on the ground that a considerable number of electors abstained from voting. This year, although exact figures are not yet available, it is a fact that a very much larger number of electors have gone to the polls. Howsoever we as party politicians may regret the electors' choice, the fact that they have gone to the polls in much larger numbers is significant. You cannot increase the intelligence and the capacity of the masses by keeping them away from the exercise of those rights which are best appreciated and valued only when they are exercised. If I may be permitted to quote from an article which I contributed to the *Contemporary Review* for November, "I maintain very strongly that the mass of our people are naturally shrewd, and understand their local problems. They are far more orderly than people of their class in any other country. They are responsive to generous treatment and elevating influences. The consciousness of the possession of political power and the repeated exercise of it at elections should in itself be an education of incalculable value. In addition there is an obligation upon those who seek their suffrages to give them political education." To those who constantly remind us of the illiteracy or want of education of our masses without at the same time recognising their own share of the responsibility for that state of things I shall say, "Do not forget the history of your own country in or about 1832. Your system of elementary education did not commence till nearly half a century later and you are still busy in expanding and improving education but that has not prevented you from expanding the representation of the people." At any rate, if there was any seriousness about the announcement made in Parliament on August 20th 1917, as I think there was, the argument of the ignorance of the masses should then have been carefully weighed. I do not wish to minimise the importance of it, but at the same time I maintain that the education of the masses and constitutional development must go hand in hand.

(2) It is next urged that India is a country of important minorities and sometimes we are told of warring minorities. I am prepared to admit that in any scheme of responsible government which may be evolved it is of the most vital importance that the political, civil and religious rights and interests of the minorities should be adequately and most scrupulously protected. It will do no good to ignore or minimise the problem. Let us face the situation boldly, courageously, and yet hopefully.

So far as the depressed classes and what are called the untouchables are concerned, our sympathies are unreservedly with them and I do maintain that if our passion for political freedom and democratic government is real we have got to modify our old world notions of social relations. Either you value those traditions social distinctions or you value the political institutions you are aspiring after. If you value the latter then you have to alter radically your old outlook.

THE HINDU-MUSLIM PROBLEM.

(3) Similarly, in dealing with the Hindu-Mahomedan problem I would make an earnest appeal to all concerned to consider whether the cherished idea of responsible government does not imperatively demand that we must make an accustomed sacrifices on both sides, and part with prejudices and narrow sectarianism. This, let it be admitted, is a most serious comment upon our entire political life, and go wherever you may outside India this is the one question which

is put to you by every one, friend and foe alike. If hitherto Hindu-Mohamedan unity has lacked strength or durability, it has been mainly due to the fact that we have not adopted the true basis of unity. This can only be the recognition by the two communities that India is the common country of both, that the claims of India on the service and loyalty of both are paramount and that political freedom and political rights are by no means inconsistent with the exercise of religious rights and ceremonies by each community with the fullest possible freedom. I do not wish to go into the details of the solution of this problem. I wish merely to state the problem as it strikes me. There is, first of all, the question of representation on Municipal, local and parliamentary bodies. This again resolves itself into two questions—(1) What is the adequate representation to which the Mohamedans are entitled? (2) What is the best method of representation? Nearly seven years ago when the Mohamedans of my province wanted separate representation in the municipalities I supported them not because I thought that it was politically sound but because it seemed to me that that was the only condition on which they were prepared to cooperate with the other communities. Even after this distance of time I do not regret my action. Separate electorates appear however to have brought in their train a mass of evil. But unless and until the Mohamedans themselves change their attitude I think we should do nothing to take away from them this method of representation to which they rightly or wrongly attach so much importance. As to the amount of representation I should have thought that the question had been solved by mutual agreement. But if that is not so, why should it be impossible to solve it now? A little exercise of patience and forbearance on both sides and an earnest desire to understand each other should bring us nearer the solution than anything else, and I think the duty rests heavily on leaders of all sections of politicians who believe in the destiny of India that they should, at a joint conference, fairly and frankly discuss this question and arrive at some solution.

MINORITIES AND THE SERVICES.

The next question is the question of the representation of the minorities in the public services. Much as I deprecate recruitment to public services based on communal grounds, I recognise that in the present circumstances of India it is inevitable. I personally think that the best solution of it lies in the appointment of a Public Services Commission on which Hindus, Mohamedans and Europeans should all alike be represented and the work of recruitment should be left to it. Excepting in regard to certain appointments of a political character which should in my opinion be left in the hands of Ministers, I believe that we should meet the situation much better if we were to transfer all such power from the hands of Ministers or the Executive Government to an independent body like the Public Services Commission which must see also to the adequate representation of each community.

RELIGIOUS DISPUTES.

As regards religious disputes in which the ignorant masses get at times involved, it is certainly the duty of the leaders to do nothing or say nothing which may inflame sectarian passions. But that alone is not sufficient. With the fullest exercise of religious freedom there must be the understanding that each party has got to respect the susceptibilities of the other. Moral injunctions alone will not solve the problem, conscious effort is even more necessary and it seems to me that in your Constitution of the future the amplest safeguards for these rights and privileges should be expressly provided for. Necessarily, you will have to depend upon the growth of sound public opinion to support your effort. But the problem cannot be solved except by facing it. A heavy responsibility in this connection lies on the press and with its growing power in the country I think it can be a potent factor in dealing with this problem. The recent disturbances in India have been advertised a good deal in England and the impression produced naturally is one which is not very hopeful for the future. But I do maintain that so far as this question is concerned we should take the responsibility for the solution of it on ourselves and if the leaders of both communities, to whom Indian unity and Indian self-government are such sacred words, make a determined effort to restore happier relations and to arrive at a settlement which will be ac-

(Continued on page 11.)

HASRAT MOHANI'S STATEMENT.

FURTHER MEMORANDA.

PART II.

The following is a continuation of Hasrat Mohani's written statement in the case in which he was convicted of breach of Prison Regulations. The first instalment appeared in yesterday's issue:—

MEMORANDUM NO. 3.

(Showing that an order of transfer of the case to the High Court will tend to the general convenience of witnesses.)

1. My scheme of defence in the present case against me is to prove that both the charges under Sections 42 and 161 I.P.C. are at once (1) false (2) frivolous and (3) malicious.

2. The charge under Section 161 is obviously false, as the last sentence of my chit clearly shows that the rupee was not given to the warder to be kept by him as a bribe, or even as a gift, but was sent to a barber friend Khalifa, and was to be brought back to me in the form of one anna pieces.

3. It is also false, because the warder used to do my work out of pure sympathy and regard for me as one of the most well-known national workers, a fact which I want to prove by referring the matter to Mr. Kaujalgi who can testify to the fact that the warder was himself a national worker under him at Bijapur before his advent in the Yeravda Prison, and as a national worker he cannot be expected to require any bribe or even to accept any gifts from me for doing some small sympathetic service to me.

4. Apart from the facts of my case, the offering on the part of the Prisoners in Jail to the low paid warders of small sums of one anna, nay even half an anna, as a gift for bringing in for them some harmless prohibited articles, such as tobacco, is so common that an effort on the part of any eccentric Jail Officer to bring such petty offences under Section 161 I. P. C. would surely appear to all reasonable men as extremely frivolous.

5. The charge under Section 161 is malicious, in so far as it has its origin in the malice of Mr. Montgomerie who in opposition to the opinion of the Superintendent and probably I. G. too, has most unworthily sought to have me prosecuted for a moral offence of bribing, intending thereby to lower me in the estimation of my countrymen.

6. The charge is false under Section 42 Prisons Act, as shown in my Memorandum No. 1 to prove paragraphs No. 9 and 10 of which it will be absolutely necessary to call at least (1) Mr. Jackadar (2) the I. G. (3) Sir Hayward and (4) Mr. Shoeb Qureshi. Their evidence will show, that the entry referred to in these paragraphs was the result of the I.G.P.'s personal instructions on the occasion of his visit to Ahmedabad to investigate two similar cases of an alleged offence of writing surreptitious letters, against Mr. Shoeb Qureshi and myself in October 1922 at the instance of Mr. (now Sir) Hayward, who was then in charge of the Jail Department.

7. The charge under Section 42 is at once frivolous and malicious on the same and similar grounds as given in Nos. (4) and (5) of this memorandum.

8. It will thus be quite clear that in the matter of correct interpretation of the Jail Rules, the opinion of the I. G. in support of my contention and the evidence of Mr. Montgomerie and other High Officials, will prove of utmost value to my success. But the Magistrate is most unreasonably pleased to regard the evidence of every one of them as quite unnecessary (see Magistrate's order on my application regarding the defence witnesses) thereby adding insult to injury by indicating that the question of my honour and character is too trivial to require the appearance of such big personages as my defence witnesses.

9. There is no doubt about the fact that the guilty conscience of these Officials has prompted them to evade the difficulty of coming face to face with a poor but straight forward man like my humble self.

10. But there is another and more important reason of their evasion of their responsibilities and that is this, that they must be thinking it to be beneath their dignity and position to attend a subordinate Court of law.

11. The transference of my case to the High Court will thus prove beneficial to me, as well as to these witnesses. It will give me an opportunity of being benefited by their evidence and they will be saved from the embarrassment of being compelled to attend the court of a poor "native" Magistrate.

MEMORANDUM NO 4.

(Relevant Sections of the Prisons Act 1894)

Section 3 (1)—Prison means any jail or place used.....for the detention of Prisoners and includes all lands and buildings appurtenant thereto.

Section 8.—All officers of a prison shall obey the directions of the Superintendent, all officers subordinate to the jailor shall perform such duties as may be imposed on them by the jailor with the sanction of the Superintendent, or be prescribed by rules under Section 60.

Section 10.—No officer of a prison shall, nor any person in trust for or employed by him, have any interest, direct or indirect in any contract for the supply of the prison: nor shall he derive any benefit, directly or indirectly from the sale or purchase of any article on behalf of the prison or belonging to a prisoner.

Section 11.—Subject to the orders of the Inspector General the Superintendent shall manage the prison in all matters relating to discipline, labour, expenditure, punishment etc.

Section 12 (2)—The Superintendent shall keep or cause to be kept.....a punishment book for the entry of punishments inflicted on prisoners for prison offences.

Section 23.—Prisoners who have been appointed as officers of prison shall be deemed to be public servants within the meaning of the I. P. C.

Section 30 (2).—Every prisoner under sentence of death.....*shall be confined in a cell apart from all other prisoners* and shall be placed by day, and by night under the charge of a guard.

Section 40.—Prisoners under trial may see their qualified legal advisers without the presence of any other persons.

Section 42.—Whoever.....introduces or removes, or attempts by any means whatever into or from any prison, or supplies or attempts to supply to any prisoner outside the limits of a prison any prohibited articles and any officer of a prison knowingly suffers any such article to be introduced or removed from any prison, to be possessed by any prisoner or to be supplied to any prisoner outsides the limits of prison, and whoever contrary to such rule communicates or attempts to communicate with any prisoner, and whoever abets any offence made punishable under the section shall, on conviction before a Magistrate, be liable to imprisonment not exceeding 6 months or to fine not exceeding 200 rupees or both.

Section 45.—The following acts are declared to be prison offences when committed by a prisoner.

(6) Contumaciously refusing to work.

(12) Receiving possessing or transferring any prohibited article.

Section 46.—The Superintendent may punish offences by,

(4) Loss of privileges admissable under remission system.

(8) Separate confinement for any period not exceeding 6 months.

Explanation.—Separate confinement means such confinement with or without labour as *secludes* a prisoner from communication with but not from sight of other prisoners and allows him not less than one hour's excercise per diem and have his meals in association with one or more prisoners.

(9) Penal diet.....Provided that such restriction of diet shall in no case be applied to a prisoner for more than 96 consecuitve hours and shall not be repeated except for a fresh offence nor until after an interval of one week.

(10) Cellular confinement not exceeding 14 days: Provided that after each period of cellular confinement an interval of not less duration than such period must elapse before the prisoner is again sentenced to cellular or solitary confinement.

Explanation.—Cellular confinement means such cofinement with or without labour as *entirely secludes* a prisoner from communication with but not from sight of other prisoners.

(11) Solitary confinement for any period not exceeding 7 days: Provided that after each period of solitary confinement, an interval of not less duration than such period must elapse before the prisoner is again sentenced to solitary or cellular confinement.

Explanation.—Solitary confinement means such confinement with or without labour as entirely secludes the prisoner both from sight of, and communication with other prisoners.

Section (47).—Any two of the punishments enumerated in the last foregoing section *may* be awarded for any such offence in combination.

Section (48) (2).—No officer subordinate to the Superintendent shall have power to any punishment whatever.

Section (49).—Except by order of a Court of justice, no punishment other than those punishments, specified in foregoing sections be inflicted on any prisoner and no punishment shall be inflicted on any prisoner otherwise than in accordance with the provisions of those sections.

Section (51) (1).—In the punishment book prescribed in Section 12, shall be recorded in respect of any punishment inflicted, the prisoners name, register number etc.

(3) Against the entries to such punishments, the Jailor and the Superintendent shall affix their initials as evidence of the correctness of the entries.

Section (54).—Every Jailor or Officer of a prison subordinate to him, who shall be guilty of any *violation of duty* or *wilful breach or neglect of any rule* or regulation or lawful order made by competent authority—shall be liable, on conviction before a Magistrate, to fine not exceeding 200 rupees or to imprisonment for a period not exceeding three months or both.

MEMORANDUM NO. 5.

(Relevant Rules of the Bombay Jail Manual)

Rule (49).—No officer shall strike a prisoner except when compelled to do so in self-defence; nor shall any officer subordinate to the Superintendent punish or direct the punishment of any prisoner. He must never argue with prisoners, nor address coarse or unbecoming language to them. It is the duty of all prison officers to treat prisoners with temper and strict impartiality to listen patiently to their complaints and grievances etc.

Rule (51) (2).—All officers are bound..... to prevent.....the giving to any prisoner, of any articles except those permitted by rule.

Rule (54).—No officer shall use tobacco..... within the prison walls.

Rule (57).—For the following offences a *prosecution shall be instituted* against the offender unless the Inspector General otherwise orders in which case the offender shall be punished departmentally.—

(2) giving or attempting to give a prisoner any article not permitted by rule.

(3) introducing or attempting to introduce or abetting the introduction into prison of any article not permitted by rule.

(meant for subordinate officers only)

Rule (58).—When an officer has been tried and acquitted by a criminal court, he shall not be reinstated in the service without the order of the Inspector General.

Rule (75).—The Superintenednt is vested with the executive management of the prison in all matters relating to discipline, punishment.....etc subject to the orders and authority of the Inspector General.

Rule (78).—A Superintendent of a central prison.....should as a rule within 12 months of his appointment be able to converse freely in the vernacular with an unlettered peasant of the district and understand vernacular correspondence when read to him.

Rule (79).—He shall adhere to all rules and shall require obedience to them from the officers of the prison etc.

Rule (82).—He shall see every prisoner in solitary or separate confinement *at least* once a day and on Sundays if necessary.

Rule (91).—He shall satisfy himself that the registers and books are written up.

Rule (92).—The registers which require the Superintendent's daily attention are detailed below:—

No. (6) Remission register.

Rule (140).—He (the jailor) shall be responsible to the Superintendent that the details of duties connected with order or discipline.....and carried out with promptness and regularity and in strict accordance with regulations.

Rule (164).—He shall not directly or indirectly, have any interest in any contract or agreement for the supply of the prison etc.

Rule (170).—He has no power to punish a prisoner or subordinate member of the establishment, but shall report any misconduct on their part to the Superintendent.

Rule (362).—The prisoner shall be warned that all money or rather articles found in his possession shall be forfeited.

Rule (476).—A light shall be kept burning in any sleeping ward throughout the night etc.

Rule (485):—Under Section 42 of the Prisons Act, of 1894, the introduction or removal etc. ..... of the following articles into or from prisons except with the authority of the Inspector General, the Superintendent the Jailor, the Deputy Jailor, ,,, is prohibited:—

(c) betal (e) bamboos, ladder etc. (f) books (i) food, fruits and sweets of every description (m) gold, silver ..... or any metal in any forms, (n) letters and writing materials of every description (o) Matches and Materials for producing fire (g) opium (r) papers (k) fire-arms, explosive materials, weapons, knives and cutting implements of every description, (u) rope, string etc. used to facilitate escape (v) snuff (w) tobacco etc.

Rule (486):—Interference with the religion or caste prejudices of prisoners is prohibited but care should be taken that this rule is not made an exeuse for frivolous complaint or unnecessary neglect of prison rules.

Rule (489):—Gives the list of prison offences including:—

(7) Holding any communication (in writing, by word of mouth etc.)

(43) Refusing to perform duties in the manner prescribed.

Rule (490):—For a prison offence any one of the following punishments involving loss of privileges admissible under the remission system may be awarded:—

(a) Forfeiture of remission earned.

(b) Temporary forfeiture of prison privileges.

(d) Temporary or permanent exclusion from the remission system.

Provided that no order directing the exclusion of a prisoner from the remission system for a period exceeding 3 months shall take effect without the previous sanction of the I.G.

Rule (491):—Classifies the punishments into major and minor ones,

The following shall be considered major punishments:—

2(b) Forfeiture of remission in excess of 9 days.

2(c) Forfeiture of ..... prison privileges for a period exceeding 3 months.

2(e) Exclusion from remission system for for a period exceeding 3 months.

5 Separate confinement for a period ex-

Note (1) The major punishments 2(b) and 2(c) and any combination of the major punishments 2(b), 2(c), and 2(e) shall not be awarded by Superintendent of a prison without the previous sanction of the I.G.

Rule (494):—In respect of offences committed by prisoners which are punishable both under the I.P.C. or Section 42 of the Prisons Act .....and under these rules, *it shall be discretionary with the superintendent* either to use his own power of punishment or to prosecute the offender before a Court or Magistrate: Provided that in the case of the following offences a prosecution shall be initiated viz:—

(3) Section 325 I.P.C. causing grievous hurt.

Rule (495):—No prisoner shall be punished twice for the same offence.

Rule (496):—All prison punishments shall be recorded in the punishment book—register No. 7.

Rule (508):—No ordinary remission shall be earned in the following cases namely:—

(1) In respect of any sentence of ....less than a year.

(2) In respect of any sentence of simple imprisonment etc.

(3) In respect of any sentence passed on a prisoner for an offence committed after admission to jail under Section 147 etc.

(4) In respect of any sentence passed on a prisoner for an assault committed, after admission to jail, or a convict warder, warder or official.

Rule (510):—Ordinary remission shall be awarded on the following scale:—

(a) One day per month for thoroughly good conduct and scrupulous attention to all prison regulations.

(b) Two days per month for industry and the due performance of the daily task imposed.

Explanation:—A prisoner who by reason of being at Court, in hospital, in transit etc .....is absent from work for the period of one whole month, shall be disbarred from earning remission of the month under clause (b) but remission under clause (a) shall be awarded according to the prisoner's conduct during the time he has been actually present in jail.

Rule (783):—Cells may be used:—

(2) For separate Confinement under Section 48(8).....of the Prisons Act.

(3) For the separation of troublesome Convicts at night.

(7) For the confinement of prisoners who are refractory.

(8) For the confinement of any special class of prisoners as may be ordered by the Inspector General.

(9) Convicted criminal prisoners may be confined either in association or individually in cells or partly in one way and partly in the other.

Rule (784):—Every prisoner confined in a cell for more than 24 hours shall be visited daily by the Superintendent and the medical officer or medical subordinate.

Rule (824):—In cases of emergency and especially when it is clearly established that the interests of the convict's family are likely to suffer, special permission to have an interview may be granted.

Also Rules Nos. 621, 624, 630, 634, 637, 638, 644 and 666, relating to bread, vegetables and other articles of diet.

HASRAT MOHANI.

MEMORANDUM No. 6.

(Sections of the I P C. relevant to this Case.)

Section (36).—Effect caused partly by act and partly by omission, causing such effect is the same offence.

Section (43).—A person is said to be "Legally bound to do "whatever is illegal in him to omit.

Section (79).—Nothing is an offence which is done by any person, who is justified by law, or who, by reason of mistake of fact and *not of law*, in good faith, believes himself to be justified by law in doing it.

Section (81).—Nothing is an offence merely by reason of its causing harm, if it be done without any criminal intention to cause harm, and in good faith for the purpose of preventing or avoiding other harm to person or pioperty.

Explanation.—It is a question of fact in such a case, whether the harm to be preventtd or avoided was of such a nature and so imminent as to justify or excuse the risk of doing the act with the knowledge that it is likely to cause harm.

Section (95.)—Nothing is an offence by reason that it causes or that it is intended to cause or that it is known to be likely to cause any harm, if that harm is so slight, that no person or ordinary sense and temper would complain of such harm (See also Sec. 250 C. P. C.)

Section (97).—Every person has a right to defend property against an act of mischief.

Section (104.)—Shows what such right extends to causing any harm other than death.

Section (105).—Commencement and continuance of the right of defence of private property.

Section (107).—A person abets the doing of a thing who instigates any person to do that thing.

Section (109).—Whoever abets any offence shall, if the act abetted is committed in consequence of the abetment and no expression is made by this code for the punishment of such abetment, be punished with the punishment provided for the offence.

Section (161).—Public servant taking gratification other than legal remuneration in respect of an official act.

Section (167).—Public servant framing an incorrect document with intent to cause injury.

Section (202).—Intentional omission to give information of offence by person bound to inform.

Section (300.)—Except in cases here in after excepted, culpable homicide is murder if the act by which the death is caused is done with intention of causing bodily injury to any person and the bodily injury intended to be inflicted is sufficient in the ordinary course of nature to cause death.

Exception.—Culpable homicide is not murder if the offender while deprived of the power of self-control by grave and sudden provocasion causes the death of the person who gave the provocation...sub-"Legally bound to do" whatever is illegal ject to the provision that the provocation is not sought or voluntarily provoked by the offender as our excuse for killing or doing harm to any person.

Illustration (f) Z strikes B. B. is by this provocation excited to violent rage. A bystander, intending to take advantage of B's rage, to cause him to kill Z puts a knife into B's hand for the purpose. B kills Z with the knife. Here. B may have committed only culpable homicide, but A is guilty of murder.

Section (320).—The following kinds of hurt only are designated as grievous:—

Eighly.....which causes the sufferer, during the space of 20 days, in severe bodily pain or unable to follow his ordinary pursuits.

Sections (349, 350, 351 and 352).—Criminal force and assault (punishment may extend to 3 months.)

Sections (463, 464 and 469).—Forgery, making a false document and forgery for the purpose of harming reputation.

Section (499).—Defamation.

First exception.—Imputation of truth which public good requires to be made lor published.

Second exception.—Public contact of public servant.

Fourth exceptoin.—Publciation of reports of proceedings of courts.

Section (71.)—When anything which is an offence is made up of parts, any of which is itself an offence, the offender shall not be punished with the punishment of more than one of such his offences, unless it be expressly provided

(To be continued.)

SETTING THE HOUSE IN ORDER

(Continued from page 10.)

ceptable to the vast majority of both, I think the problem may yet be solved.

BRITISH INTERESTS AND IMPERIAL SERVICES.

We shall probably make our task much easier if we also recognize that there are certain vital British interests in India and that unless and until those interests are safeguarded we shall have to meet with no little difficulty in our attempt at achieving self-government. Similarly, in regard to the Imperial services, which are predominantly European in their composition, we shall have to define our attitude. I do not wish to go into the details of this question, for more reasons than one. But I venture to make a few observations. The services do no good to themselves or to this country by impugning the good faith of Indian politicians, nor is it right or just for us to indulge in wholesale condemnation of the services. Any unjust or unfair criticism of the services must be deprecated. At the same time it must be borne in mind that hitherto the services have occupied a peculiar position. It does not correspond to that of the public services in England or the Dominions. They have been to a large extent responsible for the formulating of policy in India and if in the future their position is approximated to that of the permanent services elsewhere, I have no doubt that much of the criticism which is levelled at them will be diverted to the responsible Ministers. Indeed, the recent elections show that much unkinder language has been used by our countrymen towards our own Ministers and other Indians associated with the Government than towards members of the permanent services. We hear much of cases in which officers come into conflict with public opinion. I wish we heard as much of cases in which officers are held in esteem by the public for I refuse to believe that there are no good men among them or that all appreciation of their work is extinct among Indians. So far as the question of salaries and emoluments is concerned, if there are any legitimate grievances by all means let them be examined and redress given where it is due subject only to the financial capacity of India. But the essential question to my mind is the question of the venue of recruitment. Why should the decision of self-governing India, unless it is a thing of the distant future, be anticipated now? In any case, it seems to me that many of those who are already in the services will be here for at least another 25 years, but the longer you continue recruimnt in England the longer you postpone the day when the services will be Indianised.

NECESSITY FOR A COMMISSION.

Gentlemen, I have placed these views before you in the broadest possible manner without going into minute details and all that I ask you to do on the present occasion is to give your careful consideration to your future policy and future programme. If you want constitutional progress you must set to work for it. That work does not and should not consist merely in passing resolutions or making speeches. You have got seriously to educate public opinion in favour of your policy and to acquire support for your views, for unless this is done the forces of opposition against you will be strong indeed, far stronger than you imagine. Do not reject my suggestion about the early appointment of a commission merely because commissions and committees are supposed to be a method of shelving pressing problems. If that were my conviction and belief I should not have brought this suggestion before you. But I do believe that before any constitutional advance takes place the whole position will require very careful examination, so many interests have to be reconciled, so many different points of view have got to be borne in mind, so much readjustment of the system of Government will be necessary that I cannot imagine that merely because you express the wish for the establishment of Swaraj, it will be an accomplished fact. A commission is the very thing contemplated for such progress by the present Government of India Act and even if it were not so, further constitutional development would in any case have involved the bringing into existence of an agency for givnig effect to it. Once a commission is appointed you can put forward before it your own views on the future of the Constitution and put all the pressure that you are capable of on the Government here and Parliament in England to give effect to your views. That is the only constitutional mothed which to my mind seems likely to yield any satisfactory results. Constitutions are not easy to make as is sometimes imagined and it is for you to prepare the ground by taking the necessary steps.

THE LIBERAL PARTY.

Above everything else it is necessary that you should define your own position and organise your forces. So far as your position is concerned I have no doubt as to what it should be. The Liberal party cannot be an asylum either for tories or for revolutionaries. Liberalism is not merely a mode of expression but a habit of thought and action Our watchword should always be progress and continuous Progress. Our methods should also be clear and well defined. While we should resist to the utmost of our power and capacity anything which is calculated to retard our progress, I do not think that we can seriously contemplate the adoption of a calculated policy of obstruction which so far from helping our progress may seriously hinder it. Again it seems to me that if the Liberal party is to extend its influence casual and unorganised activity is not enough, its work must be continuous and incessant. I admit that our detractors have poisoned the public mind against us, but that ought not to deter us from approaching the public and putting up with the rough and tumble of public life. We must have a strong central executive and we must try to establish living and serious-minded associations all over the country wherever we can. Not only must we do this, but we must strengthen our own press and whereever it may be necessary, establish new organs. We shall no doubt meet with difficulties for some time, but I have not lost all faith in the shrewd sommon sense of the people. It may be clouded for some time, but it cannot be for all time. It is by persistence alone that we can conquer those forces of opposition which have accounted for our defeat and disappointment at the last election. I do not sympathise with those who find solace merely in the though that they might have done better if only their opponents had indulged in less misrepresentation of their views and position. We must frankly admit that much of our present position is due to the weakness of our organisation, the want of party discipline and above all, our omission to organise an adequate party fund. For I think that if we are to survive as a party it is necessary that we should have funds and ample funds. I know the difficulties in the way but I also know that we have to fight those difficulties and overcome them. In order to advance our scheme it may be necessary, indeed I think it will be necessary, for us not only to send a strong representative deputation to England but to establish an independent and active organisation of our own there for the dissemination of our views and correct information in England. Be it said to the credit of Mrs. Besant that hers is the only organisation there that does something for India in the way or propaganda. It is all very well for our countrymen to say that we can afford to ignore English opinion, but do not forget that we have no real living organisation of our own there. Those who are opposed to any further progress and who regret even the present measure of reforms have got powerful organisations supported by plenty of funds and led by some retired Governors and officials who still think and talk as if India stood where it did in their time. The English nation is essentially conservative and fights shy of any change. Its conservatism is all the greater in the case of India which it has been accustomed to treat as a country full of ignorant people hopelessly divided among themselves and flying at each other's throat and kept together only by the controlling hand of its representatives here. I do not blame people in England, for they are bound to attach weight to the uncontradicted statements of some of those who claim knowledge and experience of India. Besides, let us not forget that the impression which some happenings in this country have produced has been most unfavourable to us and yet my experience during the last few months was distinctly hopeful for, while on the one hand there is a section of die-hards who will continue to oppose our aspirations for as long as they can, on the other there are men of broad sympathies, and large outlook but little knowledge who, if properly approached will be willing to help us. Such help I would not discard or despise. I would avail myself of every such source from which we can gather strength and support. I believe we can do much useful work by sending a strong, well informed and capable deputation to England. Our work in India must go on simultaneously if we wish to push the cause of a successful issue. I therefore think that if this meeting of the Liberal Federation succeeds in nothing more than in devising means to organise the party and in adopting a definite line of policy, we shall not have met in vain. If we fail in that I for one must view the future of our party with the gloomiest of forebodings But I have still hope that the traditions of Pherozeshah Mehta and Gokhale are not dead among us. Howsoever unworthy we may be as their successors, let us make an honest attempt to live up to their ideals and seek inspiration from what they said or did in their day. Eighteen years ago it was left to Gopal Krishna Gokhale to give a definite shape to our ideal in his great speech at Benares. Since then that ideal has ceased to be a far off adorable dream. It has become now a living passion with us. To be in our own country what other subjects of our common Sovereign are in the self-governing Dominions is no longer a dream which we would leave it to posterity to realise. Our difficulties may be great, they are great, but they have to be conquered and must be conquered. I venture to think that if we approach these big problems in the practical spirit of those great and hallowed names and with their robust faith in the justice and righteousness of our cause, if we only realise that constitutionally our position is much stronger than it was in their days, then I have every confidence that we shall succeed in building the edifice of Self-Government within the Empire the foundations of which were laid by them.

Temporary defeat ought not to damp our spirits. On the contrary it should act as an incentive to more active, more persistent and more substantial work. I yet believe that the Liberal Party, if only it can reorganize itself, will play a great part in the development of the Constitution and though temporarily Liberals may have received a set-back, Liberalism will still be the rallying cry of all those elements in the country which recognise the value of constitutional work and which believe in the efficacy of constitutional methods.

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NATIONAL EDUCATION.

TO THE EDITOR OF "THE CHRONICLE."

Sir,—My attention has been drawn to your suggestive leader on National Education. National Education is worth pursuit only if it effectively and quickly builds up a sustained Revolutionary Psychology in opposition to the slave mentality sown and propogated in Government and aided schools; this slave mentality begins its undying growth, not in cities and colleges but in the seven and half lakhs of villages where the child is at once submerged in the false and perverted teachings of the Imperialistic cult and at once initiated into the unreasoned atmosphere of the absolute wisdom of the present order of society and sociological institutions in general and the mind doped with all sorts of superstitions, the superstition of religion, the superstition of law and order, the superstition of what show would call the disease of civilisation with all its incidental paraphernalia. Now is not the time for purely cultural education even if such can be pursued under our impotent state of political subjection and even if there were such a thing as that. That ideals of education have to change with the sociological needs of a people. The present insistent need of India is the emancipation of the dynamic material which now lies wet and unignited in the villages that are neglected because of the city superstitution. If India wants freedom that should endure, the politician and the educationalist must coalesce into one to no more pursue the mirage of "Higher" or purely cultural education, to put a stop to the enormous waste of money on "National Colleges and Universities" to transfer the activity into villages and do the simultaneous work of construction and destruction. Destruction is only furthering process of construction; there no sentiment should come in the way of the propagandist. All Institutions that teach superstition, whether educational, political, religious or moral, and spread its atmosphere must be mercilessly made into ashes by the fires of the New Cult of Non-violent Revolution. If there is anything like National Education it can justify its existence or its honey-tongued drainage on the public purse if only it takes in right earnest this work of the building up of the Revolutionary Psychology; it should also be understood that until India gains her freedom to mould her future on Individualistic or Communistic basis whichever suits her best. Therefore it is essential that this question of National Eduaction should be taken up by the Indian National Congress, which should convert the problem from a purely educational one into politico-educational one realising fully that the future entirely depends on the education of the child of to-day.—Yours, etc.,

T. VISHVANATH.

MR. LLOYD GEORGE AND TURKEY.

TO THE EDITOR OF "THE CHRONICLE."

Sir,—The "Times of India" has recently given the place of honour to "Nawab" Abdullah Khan's article in which he has, in his characteristic style, declared the Ali Brothers to be on the war-path and has, in the end, advised the Mussalmans of India to resort to constitutional agitation if they really want to free the Jaziratul-Arab from non-Muslim influences. As is usual with him, the "Nawab" has indulged in attacks on the brothers. But I know them too well to be tempted into his way of thinking and hence I ignore his remarks with the contempt they deserve. But as regards his generous references to Mr. Lloyd George and the British nation I will humbly submit that it is absolutely wrong on the part of the "Nawab" to think that *all* the pledges that were given to the Mussalmans during the war in the name of the great British nation, have been fulfilled. In fact there would have been no bloodshed of innocent Turks, if Mr. Lloyd George had simply kept his pledge of January, 1918, which formed the basic principle of the Khilafat agitation in India. But he did nothing of the sort. On the contrary he sent the Greek hounds to play havoc in Smyrna and Anatolia—the Home-lands of the Turks. And it was only Mustafa Kemal Pasha's sword that compelled Mr. Lloyd George to fulfil at least part of his pledge. Of course the British public opinion has of late veered round in favour of the Turks. But for this the credit cannot go to Mr. Lloyd George at all, since he had done his best to crush Turkey in the name of humanity and justice. I wonder how the "Nawab" has the audacity to deceive the Mussalmans who know much more about these things, and that, for, on a question which admits of no two opinions. I beg to assure the "Nawab" that the responsibility of Greek massacres in Anatolia devolves on the shoulders of Mr. Lloyd George alone, and on the day of judgment he will have to answer for his actions before his God, although he has escaped the punishment in this world.

Now something about the Jazirat-ul-Arab. Fortunately the "Nawab" believes in the Prophet's last injunction and wants to bring about the desired goal in a constitutional manner. Is the "Nawab" prepared to head the constitutional agitation? Is he going to do his "bit", worthy of the name, in the matter, since as a Muslim he is also bound to respect the Prophet's commandments. But looking to his past record I can very well predict that he will do nothing of the kind suggested by me. In this connection I would like to know from him what services he has rendered to Islam during or after the war when the Khilafat agitation was at its zenith. His Bombay record of service during this period is too well-known to be discussed here as the public of this great city knows it full well.

In conclusion I will request the "Nawab" not to harm Islam further by writing such articles as he has contributed to your morning contemporary.—Yours, etc.,

"RUBAB-E-SHIKASTA."

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PROVINCIAL JUDICIAL SERVICES.

TO THE EDITOR OF "THE CHRONICLE."

Sir,—You will notice that but for the grave issues involved, it woud be amusing to find the European officer ponderously stating before the Commission that the worth of the work of the Provincial Service officer is marred by the verbosity, technicality and search for "fine" points in which he indulges, and that the work of the I. C. S. officer is more valuable because he looks more to the truth of the matter. The reason should be obvious that the Provincial Service officer both knows and respects the two—the law and the people—whose servant he is. The measure of the civilian's law is his common sense and personal notions of right and wrong. That of the Provincial Service man is the real law, and, on question of facts, the real motives and circumstances of the cases that come before him. Why not do away with the Stamp, Registration, Limitation and the Fenal Codes and other laws, and particularly with the publication of the case law under the authority of the Government, of which the burden is simply crushing, and go by the real truth, of which the Civilian professes to be so fond, without any promises for the proposition that he is better able to get at it, than the man of the country? Mere technicality not infrequently becomes a question of life and death. A man may be hanged, or merely let off with a small amount of fine, and may even be acquitted altogether for what has been called a mere technicality. It is to be greatly deplored that having so long suppressed and minimised the indigenous talent of India, the European officer should have allowed himself to flare out of jealousy of a class of people whose merit, quiet, conscientious and hard work alone have forced their way to recognition, at one last, though the time for reward is hardly within sight This is the respect for "Law and Order"! It is only in keeping with this idea that the subordinate Judge in Oudh has been recently departmentally dealt with for taking and expressing the view in a judicial order that the District Judge had no power under the law to pass a certain order in a case pending before the Subordinate Judge, when this order of the Subordinate Judge has not been questioned by any party to the case and stands unreserved by any Court of higher jurisdiction. Respect for "Law and Order" indeed! And who could be the authority passing the order of punishment but Mr. B. J. Dalal.—Yours etc.

INDIAN LAWYER.

Sultanpur, (Oudh) Dec. 21.

SWARAJISTS' DUTY IN COUNCILS.

TO THE EDITOR OF "THE CHRONICLE."

Sir,—(1) In the next session of the leggislative Assembly and in all the Pro-Councils, the Swarajya Party should bring a resoution that every member of it should take an oath to be loyal to the motherland and to the Indian interests. (2) H. E. Lord Reading while certifying the salt tax bill, had declared that this was for a year and next year it can be brought into the Assembly for re-consideration. The Swarajya Party should new bring that resolution for removing the salt tax increased.—Yours etc.,

S. D. DESAI.

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SAVED FROM THE GRAVE.

I am neither an advertising physician nor a doctor of medicines but an ordinary clerk. In the prime of youth I unfortunately suffered a breakdown. I secretly sent for medicine from all the famous physicians whose grandiloquent advertisements resounded in the newspaper world. To my ill-luck, despair and disappointment stared me in the face wherever I looked until I began to prefer death to life. The wheel of fortune, however, took a new revolution and I was suddenly called upon in July, 1901, to undertake in connection with my employment a very dreary journey to Nepal which, dotted over with short breaks in the way, took me thirteen days to reach Khatmandoo, where I put in a Caravanserai. Adjoining to my room there had sojourned a day or two previously an angel-looking hermit who enquired from me the nature of my illness in such a loving tone that I was coaxed into a reluctant exposure of my long-hidden secret.

Taking pity upon me he scratched out two prescriptions and in accordance with his directions I prepared from herbs and vegetables some tonic pills and a liniment for massage.

God the Witness.

Only a week's treatment cured me of all the complaints that had made my life so burdensome that I looked upon suicide as the only avenue of escape from this "living death." Although by virtue of this short treatment I could find it too hard to restrain myself, yet in consequence of the strict surveillance that my benefactor so very kindly exercised over me I was obliged to observe the necessary prevention and to undergo the full course of treatment for 21 days which gave such a manly vigour to my deranged nervous system. After the completion of my mission there I reached home and experimented the remaining medicine upon some other hopeless cases and found it infallible remedy for all sorts of nervine diseases and every kind of general physical debility. On the persistent demands of some of my prudent and philanthropic friends and with a view to public weal I advertised this medicine. The price advertised hardly covers the expenses of its preparation and of enormously vast advertising operation.

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Mount Abou.

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"WANTED MORE COLLEGES."

TO THE EDITOR OF "THE CHRONICLE."

Sir,—It is satisfactory to note that the public has begun to take greater interest in education. The expansion of primary education has necessitated the opening of more secondary schools and though Government has commenced to give less aid, the progress of our high schools is rapid. In the matter of higher education it is not possible for the public to shoulder the entire responsibility of professional colleges; but arts colleges which aim at giving liberal education and culture can be started if the public has the enthusiasm and if a body of workers is prepared to take up the work on the principle of self-sacrifice. In our presidency the Southern portion of the Deccan has opened two or three colleges and it is satisfactory to note that these new ventures have turned out successful. In Bombay very little has been done and the Northern portion of the Deccan has not done better. It is easy to realise the difficulties of boys from these districts who are required to travel long distances for higher education. A boy whose parents reside in Nasik or Khandesh districts must either go to Poona or Bombay for this purpose. He gets admission to a college with great difficulty because the colleges are crowded and his parents have few chances of knowing the heads of these institutions. Professors cannot pay much attention to his progress and he has to make the best of his scanty opportunities. To add to his misery he is not often able to secure residential accommodation to the college hostel and then to live in some unhealthy houses in the city of Poona or Bombay is a great trial for the young man. The rents in Poona and Bombay have increased enormously and in addition to the heavy burden of the cost of living under which parents have been groaning, the anxiety of keeping young people in questionable surroundings to which they are altogather new, becomes very trying. In recent years the Malaria prevailing in these two cities has caused the ruin of the health of many boys who find it extremely hard to get accustomed to the climate quite different from that of their native villages.

Unless new colleges are started on this side of the country things will not improve. Personal contact between teachers and pupils, real culture obtained by the association of great minds and good sturdy manhood ought to be our ideals in educattion and they cannot be secured unless institutions are started in good healthy places by persons who value the cultural side of education more than anything else. We are trying with the help of the Gokhale Education Society to open college classes in Nasik which is an ideal place for purposes of education. We are all helping the scheme whole-heartedly because we are confident the Gokhale Socity will make our college an ideal one and will train up young people to be excellent citizens able to discharge their duties in these hard days. The University has already showed good sprit in relieving the over crowding in the Government Law school by affiliating the Law College of the Indian Law Society and the same good spirit is expected by the public in the matter of Arts Colleges. We do not want the University to do anything which will affect the efficiency of education, but considerations of humanity and a desire to improve the efficiency of colleges by relieving congestion should induce the University to encourage efforts in the direction of higher education. It is absolutely necessary to ascertain whether the efforts are honest and whether the workers who come forward have the capacity to undertake the stupendous task of conducting the institution well. Our proposed college is to open the classes in June 1924 and the affiliation of the University is necessary and it would not be too much to expect that learned body to earn the gratitude of parents and boys by granting the permission at the right time.—Yours, etc.

R. G. KASHIKAR.

Malegaon, Dec. 22.

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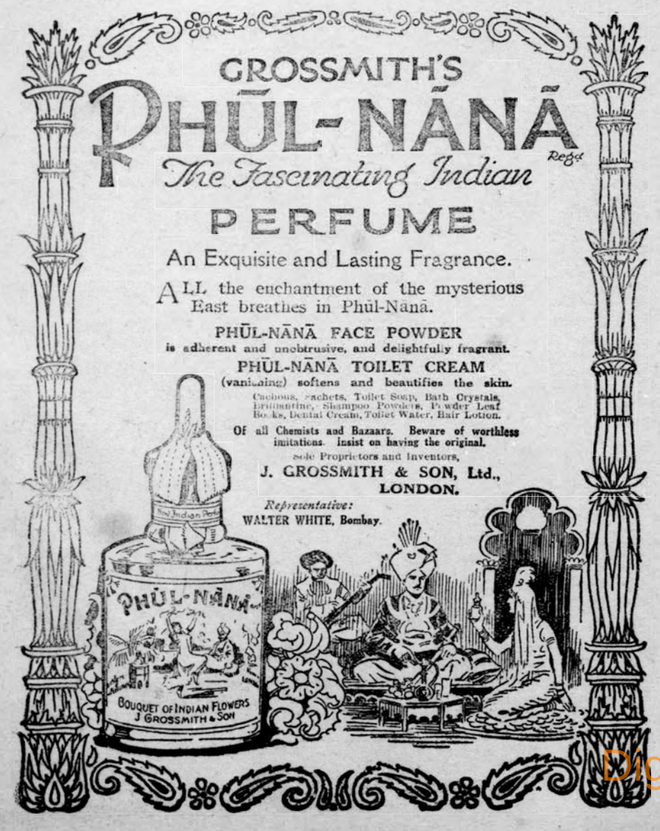
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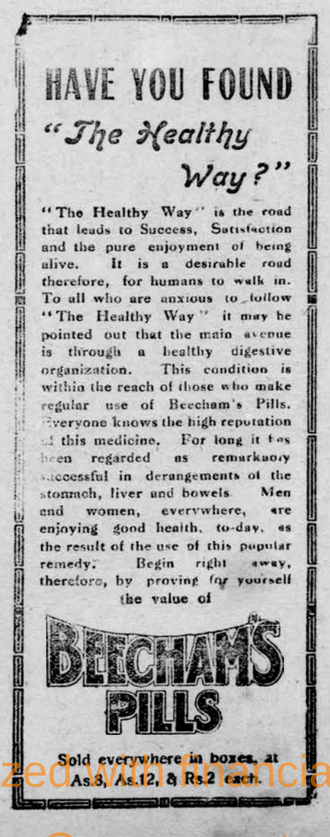
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